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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 15, October 1985

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19 February 1986

## USSR REPORT TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 15, October 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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## INFORMATION REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD151237 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85)  
p 3

[Text] A regular CPSU Central Committee plenum took place on 15 October 1985.

The plenum discussed the following questions:

A draft new edition of the CPSU program;

Changes in the statute of the CPSU;

The draft Basic Directions of the USSR Economic and Social Development for the Years 1986-1990 and for the Period up to the Year 2000.

A report on these questions was delivered at the plenum by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The text of the report is being published in the press.

The following spoke at the plenum in the debate on the report: Comrade A.A. Titarenko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; R.F. Dementyeva, second secretary of the Moscow Gorispolkom; Yu.F. Solovyev, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblispolkom; V.G. Afanasyev, PRAVDA chief editor; S.I. Manyakin, first secretary of the Omsk Oblispolkom; M.S. Shkabardnya, minister of instrument making, automation equipment and control systems; A.M. Korolev, lathe operator at the Urals imeni S. Ordzhonikidze Heavy Machine-Building works; V.P. Demidenko, first secretary of the Kustanay Obkom, Kazakhstan Communist Party; and K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum approved the documents presented for its examination and decided to publish them for discussion at party meetings, conferences, congresses of the union republics' communist parties which precede the 27th CPSU Congress, and the draft Basic Directions for the USSR's Economic and Social Development for the Years 1986-1990 and for the Period up to the Year 2000, for discussion also at meetings in labor collectives, educational establishments, military units, and public organizations.

Organizational issues were examined at the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The plenum elected Comrade N.V. Talyzin candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The plenum relieved Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov from his duties as CPSU Central Committee secretary in connection with his appointment as USSR Council of Ministers chairman. The decision was made to relieve Comrade N.A. Tikhonov from his duties as CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member in connection with his retirement on health grounds.

With this the CPSU Central Committee Plenum Completed its work.

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SPEECH BY CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE GENERAL SECRETARY M. S. GORBACHEV  
AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM 15 OCTOBER 1985

LD151411 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85)  
pp 4-11

[Text] Comrades! We have to examine the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU Program; the Basic Direction of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the 12th 5-Year Plan Period, and for the Period up to the Year 2000; and also changes in the CPSU bylaws.

These are documents of enormous political significance. They deal with our Program objectives, the key issues of the party's general line, its economic strategy, the forms and methods of work among the masses in the present-day exceptionally complicated and important phase of history which in many respects, both domestically and internationally, is of crucial importance.

As you know, the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and then the conference on questions of scientific and technical progress, provided a detailed analysis of the situation that has arisen and put forward and substantiated the comprehensive concept of accelerating the country's social and economic development, and on the basis of this, achieving a new qualitative condition of Soviet society. Herein lies the root of the affair, herein lies the whole essence of our problems.

Today, our party is coming out before the people with the concept of acceleration; it is going to the next, the 27th congress, with this concept. This is the pivot of all the three documents being submitted for discussion by the present CPSU Central Committee plenum. An acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country is called upon to secure a materially and spiritually rich, socially dynamic life for Soviet people in conditions of peace, to still more fully and graphically reveal the possibilities and advantages of a civilization of an historically new type embodied in the socialist system.

First of all, regarding the new edition of the CPSU Program, prepared in keeping with the instructions of the 26th Congress: In the process of serious and thorough work upon it, some tricky questions -- both theoretical and political -- arose, connected with considering the outcome of the ground that

has been converted, and an interpretation of the prospects for the further development of the country.

In the past quarter of the century -- and we can see this -- serious objective economic and social advances have been made in our country. They required profound analysis, a precise definition of current and long-term goals, the determination of ways to achieve them, and equally new approaches to the organizational, socioeconomic, and ideological activity of the party. Precise objectives in the program were also required by the international situation. It was necessary to work out a new understanding of those changes in the alignment of forces which are taking place both on a class social level, around the struggle to affirm the principle of peace as a universal norm of intergovernmental and all international relations.

In other words, what was required was not just to sum up the results of what has been done and accomplished, but also to elaborate a clear and well-substantiated program of action in the name of mankind and peace on earth.

In this connection, to what would I like to draw your attention?

First and foremost, to the continuity of the CPSU's fundamental theoretical and political aims. We accord this the importance of the principle. Life has confirmed the correct nature of the basic content of the party's third program. In executing it, our country has moved far forward in all directions of communist construction. The third program's fundamental theoretical and political provisions are preserved in the new edition, too.

The question of continuity in the development of the party's theory and program objectives is a matter of its theoretical principled nature and continuity, its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism. The CPSU would not enjoy such lofty prestige in the world communist movement and such trust from the Soviet people if it did not approach its own theoretical conclusions and political appraisals with proper responsibility.

At the same time, consistency and continuity of theory necessarily assume its creative development and enrichment with propositions of principle in accordance with historical experience. This is quite natural. We now have a better and more precise idea of the way of perfecting socialism and attaining our program's aim -- communism. Undoubtedly, all this had to be reflected and was reflected within the party's main theoretical and political document.

While enriching and developing the program's content, at the same time we reconsidered, in a critical sense, those formulations that have not stood the test of time. This is in the traditions of our party. As Lenin said, the criticism of specific program points and formulations is a totally legitimate and necessary thing in any living party. ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 12, p 85)

In all this work, we proceeded on the basis of Leninist principles of the building of the party's program. It must be a precise formulation of an actual process, must clearly set out the fundamental outlook and political

tasks, and must be free of both excessive elaboration of detail and groundless fantasy on the one hand and of bookish pedantry and playing with definitions on the other. The program is a clear and precise statement of that for which the party is striving and for which it is struggling.

The Central Committee Politburo considers that the present document, on the whole, meets these demands. It is based on Marxist-Leninist theory, on a realistic analysis of the processes taking place within the country and in the world arena, and gives a precise and comprehensive description of the strategic directions of the work of the party, the Soviet state, and whole people, based upon a communist viewpoint of the country's development.

The third party program, in its present form, is one for the planned and all-round perfection of socialism, for the further advance of Soviet society towards communism on the basis of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

We are holding firmly to the course to communism, proceeding on the basis that there is not, and cannot be, a sharp division between the two phases of the single process of the forming of communism. One cannot bypass socialism and go directly to the higher phase of communism any more than one can correctly represent socialism as an independent entity. Socialism's development into communism is determined by objective laws governing social development. Any attempts to get ahead of oneself, or to introduce principles of communism without taking the level of society's material and spiritual maturity into account, are doomed to failure as experience shows. But slowness in implementing changes which are ripe, in order to solve new tasks, is also not to be tolerated.

In the new edition of the program, the description of the historical achievements and advantages of socialism as a level of human progress superior to capitalism, is enriched. Contours are sketched out in the economic, social, and political spheres, and in spiritual life, which our society should gain as a result of the program's implementation. Through speeding up the country's socioeconomic development to the achievement of a qualitatively new state for Soviet society -- this is the formula expressing the essence of the party's course today.

The program proceeds from the economy's decisive role in social development. The party's economic strategy is set taking into account a further intensification of the scientific and technical revolution. It aims at transformations of truly historical dimensions: at carrying out a new technical modernization of the national economy; at switching it onto the path of intensive development; and at the Soviet economy's attainment of the highest level of organization and efficiency. And all in the name of man and for man's well-being.

Considerably more attention is paid to the social sphere. Our party should have a socially strong policy embracing the whole expanse of human life, from man's working and living conditions, his health and leisure, to social class and national social relations. Speaking of the necessity to give attention to social questions, to science and culture, Lenin emphasized: "This will be the

best policy, it will be the most economic way of management. Otherwise, having saved several hundred millions, we could lose an amount that no thousands of millions would compensate" (op. cit., vol 38, p 168).

The draft defines our attitude to the social sphere from precisely this viewpoint. The party views social policy as a powerful means of accelerating the country's economic development, of lifting the labor and sociopolitical activity of the masses, and as an important factor in the political stability of society, in the formation of the new person and the affirmation of the socialist way of life.

We attach the importance of principle to the provisions in the draft regarding the development of the Soviet society's political system and the increasingly full implementation of the peoples' socialist self-government.

I want to stress as strongly as I can, comrades, that without extending and deepening socialist democracy in every way, that is to say, without creating conditions for the daily active and effective participation of all working people, their collectives and organizations, in deciding issues of state and public life, we will not be able to move forward successfully. It was in the initiative, in the energy, the living creativity of the masses, in their conscious and interested attitude towards the tasks of creating a new system that Lenin saw the most important source of the strength and vitality of socialism.

The development of the peoples' genuine sovereignty acquires even greater importance today, when we are setting about the solution of very complex tasks in the sphere of production, culture and management. Every true step towards widening publicity, strengthening control from below, intensifying democratic principles in the work of all state and public organizations, is valuable. We must, in a word, make maximum use of the democratic nature of socialism, of its vital requirement to gain nourishment from the creativity of the masses.

The program's objectives in the field of ideological work, too, are indissolubly connected with the acceleration of socioeconomic development. The people must be brought up on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. They must be educated with words of truth and real acts, uniting political instruction and ideological influence with the ever-increasing participation of the working people in resolving economic and social issues, in running the state, and with production and public work. It is only through having a well thought-out economic strategy, powerful social policy, and purposeful ideological educative work, all taken as an inseparable whole, that it is possible to activate the human factor, without which not one of the proposed tasks can be resolved. This is precisely how matters stand today.

The new edition of the program also reflects quite fully the fundamental trends in world development. These are the further strengthening of the positions of real socialism, growth of its authority and influence, and the increasing role of the popular masses fighting to rebuild life on principles of justice. These also include increasing opposition to positive changes in the world on the part of the reactionary, aggressive forces of imperialism. These involve strengthening the possibilities of peace, which unites the



countries of socialism, the international workers' and communist movement, dozens of young independent states and broad antiwar democratic movements. Precisely their interaction is determining the general direction of world development in our epoch.

All of us can see that a very dangerous turn has appeared in the policy of the major capitalist powers. As time passes the practical actions of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, are highlighting the essence of this policy more and more clearly; social revenge on the basis of achieving military superiority over socialism, the suppression by force of progressive liberation movements; and the maintenance of international tension at a level which would justify the creation of newer and newer types of mass annihilation weapons and the militarization of space.

As a result, decisions at the highest level of responsibility directed toward putting a limit to the arms race and halting the slide toward war. These decisions cannot be delayed without the risk of losing control over dangerous processes which threaten the very existence of mankind. Curbing the forces of militarism and war, ensuring a firm peace and reliable security; this is the key problem of our times.

The search for new approaches toward solving vitally important problems, amid the high multiplicity of social and political forces acting in the world arena, make it necessary to take their interests into account realistically though they sometimes do not coincide and even clash, in order to work out the correct political course. And the Politburo of the Central Committee feels that the new edition of the Program provides good guidelines for this.

It is an integral expression of our concept of asserting peace on earth and the social progress and national liberation of peoples. I would say, in it are formulated the fundamental bases of policy, the main supports of which remains immovable. At the same time, the Program shows our party's wide approach to international affairs; its ability to take changes of the situation into account in good time, to look without prejudice into the face of reality; to objectively assess events taking place and to react flexibly to the demands of the movement.

We speak openly about the aims of our international policy and about the ways to achieve them. In this regard our policy is totally predictable. It contains no mysteries or vagueness. This policy is based on the Leninist concept of the peaceful coexistence of two opposite systems. We proceed from the fact that only a stable and reliable policy is worthy of a state and party which are aware of their responsibility for the fate of the world in our era which is full of contradictions.

Progressive forces will see in the Program an expression of our invariable solidarity with their struggle, of our respect for their views and positions, and of our aspiration to promote the strengthening of their unity -- that dialectic unity of diversity which encompasses the whole living fiber of the real socialist world--of the workers' and communist national liberation movement; and of all movements which are against reaction and aggression but which are for peace and progress.



And now about the draft basic guidelines: the aim of the draft is, as it were, to impart material substance to the provisions of the CPSU Program and to convert them into the language of concrete plan tasks in conformity with such a crucial stage of its implementation as the 12th 5-Year Plan period and the period up to the year 2000.

A great amount of work has been done but this work was not easy or smooth; and not only because working out a scientifically-based prospect for developing an economy which is on such a gigantic scale as ours is something which is not at all easy, especially when it is faced with qualitatively new tasks. It was necessary to take into account the sum total of objective factors which influence, and in various ways at that, the rate, ratios, and effectiveness of the national economy.

We also meet problems of a different kind caused by the fact that all our cadres have still not shaken off their inertia of the old set-ups and adherence to the extensive management of the economy. Not everyone has turned out to be psychologically ready for work in the new conditions or ready to establish a radical change in the direction of intensiveness and quality in the 12th 5-Year Plan. This attitude had to be overcome, and overcome on the march, as the saying goes, when work on the basic directions was already in full swing. A big role was played here by the involvement of labor collectives in the search for reserves and the working out of the intensive targets for the 5-Year Plan period, and the active position of the party organizations, from republic, kray and oblast to primary ones.

As a result much was able to be corrected, and the draft under discussion today, as the Central Committee Politburo considers, is mainly in keeping with the Program requirements of the party concerning the acceleration of economic growth, with the simultaneous fulfillment of such strategic tasks as raising the people's well-being, strengthening economic potential, and maintaining our homeland's defense strength at the appropriate level.

It is noteworthy that in the new 5-year plan period the growth of national income and of output in all sectors of material production will for the first time be obtained entirely through an increase in labor productivity. The notable lowering of the material intensiveness envisaged for the 5-year plan period will make it possible to transform the economy into a decisive source for satisfying the requirements of the national economy for additional material resources.

There will be a more energetic implementation than in the past of restructuring the economy and the concentration of capital investment in priority directions to develop the national economy. Emphasis is primarily being placed on the technical reequipment and reconstruction of existing enterprises. There will be accelerated development of machine-building, and of the chemical, electronic, and electrical engineering industries. There is to be an expansion of output of the latest generations of machines and equipment with the application of progressive materials and technologies.

In short, in the 12th 5-Year Plan period a notable advance is being initiated toward efficiency. But in order for such a radical turn to take place in this direction, efforts must not be slackened. On the contrary, they must be increased. And here perfecting planning and administration and methods of management, improving the organization of affairs, strengthening the discipline and responsibility of all sectors, and the development in every way of the creative initiative of the masses are of primary significance.

The attainment of the targets that have been set for the third millenium will depend on how rapidly the turn to efficiency is completed and the new technical reconstruction of the national economy executed. In the coming 15 years it is planned to create an economic potential which almost equals that which has been accumulated through all the preceding years of Soviet power. National income and the volume of industrial output is to almost double; labor productivity is to increase by a factor of 2.3-2.5.

This will make it possible to double the volume of resources directed toward meeting people's requirements. I think that the document which has been presented gives us every justification for saying that the implementation of its social program will make it possible to raise the standard of living of Soviet people to a qualitatively new stage in the coming three 5-year periods.

The scale, depth and complexity of the tasks being resolved both in domestic and foreign policy make new and high demands of the level of party leadership and dictate the need for new attitudes to all aspects of party work, and it is natural that all this should be reflected in the CPSU Statute, the fundamental law of the party, and our party code for life.

What is the principle of the proposal alterations to the Statute?

To be brief, it is on the one hand a further expansion of democracy within the party and the development of the initiative and activity of communists and all party organizations--first and foremost the primary organizations. On the other hand, it is raising their responsibility for resolving matters we have in common. The more varied and full life within the party is, the more profound is democratism in resolving all key issues from enrollment into the party to cadre policy and the stronger and more effective is the party's influence on all social processes.

In the same vein, the Statute makes the basic principles of party guidance of state and public organizations more precise. Each of these is fully obliged to carry out its functions, but party guidance of their activity must have a precisely expressed political nature and actively promote further the development of socialist self-management of the people in all groups and at all levels. The proposed amendments serve to enhance the authority, calling, and significance of the party member, his role as a political fighter and organizer of the masses, and his responsibility for implementing the general line and directives of the party.

On the whole, the amendments that are proposed for incorporation in the rules will enrich it with new aspects according to the demands of life; will facilitate the organizational consolidation of the party on the tried and

tested principles of democratic centralism, and will raise the leading role of the CPSU in the face of the new tasks facing the country.

Comrades! Yesterday, a session of the Program Commission took place. This is the commission which is submitting the draft of the new edition of the Party Program. I think that our discussion of the draft of the plenum will be businesslike and fruitful. This applies no less to the draft of the Basic Directions and the proposed amendments to the CPSU bylaws.

The adoption of the submitted documents by the Central Committee plenum will open a very important stage in the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress; a stage where the party confers extensively and directly with the people on major economic and political questions.

The Politburo proposes that these documents be published and widely debated at party meetings, rayon, city, oblast and kray conferences and at the congresses of the communist parties of union republics, and that the draft Basic Directions also be considered at meetings of labor collectives, educational establishments, military units and public organizations. The Soviets, trade unions, and Komsomol are called upon to have their say. The participation of millions and millions of Soviet people, communists and nonparty members, in the all-party, all-people discussion will enable the party's course for the future to be better verified and fuller account to be taken of the will, interests and needs of all classes and all sections of the people.

The most important thing which we must make sure of in the process of discussion is that it is businesslike and directed toward the solution of specific practical questions. It is essential to aim to make the meetings and discussions take place in a way that is rich in content, without ostentation, fuss, and overorganization. Leading party, state, and economic cadres are obliged to take the most active direct part in them.

The center of all the work on studying and explaining the pre-congress documents, must be the labor collective, its grass-roots links, the section and brigade, farm livestock unit and laboratory. Here a meaningful conversation must be launched about our affairs, about bringing into action huge reserves, the economic use of resources, the elimination of existing shortcomings, and the dissemination of front-ranking experience. It is important that we try to make every Soviet person understand well the program aims and tasks of the party, the sense of its internal and foreign policy, and be able to link their own every day work with them.

In other words, the discussion must be given a creative and constructive character from the beginning. The policy of the Central Committee on an innovative approach to the urgent questions of our development, on decisively overcoming everything which has outlived its usefulness and hinders movement forward, enjoys the undivided support of the working people. We shall follow this policy consistently in the future, too, supported by the will and creativity of the whole people.

The pre-congress documents will doubtless arouse a wave of responses, proposals and letters. Along with conceptions on the great state level, concrete questions will also be asked and remarks expressed on the work of party, administrative and economic organs. Not a single useful thought, not a single proposal must be disregarded. It is important that during the discussion of the documents the working people should know that their critical signals are being heard, and that relevant measures are being taken on their proposals. This is a matter of principle for us.

It would be necessary, using the experience of work on the Basic Directions, to start working out the 5-year plan at the same time as discussing them. This will make it possible to discuss and ratify it soon after the congress.

The final stage of the preparations for the congress places high demands upon the mass media and propaganda organs. They are called upon to become a platform of discussion for the whole people, to accumulate the ideas, opinions, and experience of the masses, and the shape of the lofty labor and ideological--moral attitude without which the realization of any plans is unthinkable.

Comrades! However inspiring the plans which have been worked out may be, the planned targets can be achieved only with intense, highly productive labor. The specific deeds of each Soviet person, each labor collective, and each party organization are particularly necessary now. The time has come for even more energetic actions, and this is the most important thing today. Party, soviet, economic, and trade union organizations are bound to mobilize all potential, all our resources and possibilities, and first and foremost, the human factor, towards the consistent fulfillment of the tasks facing us.

We have begun such work. Important decisions have been adopted, major measures are being implemented in economic, social and ideological spheres. One must continue to act in the spirit of the political line which has been worked out, and steadfastly follow the planned course. Strengthening discipline and order in all things, actively using moral and material incentives, opening up more and more room for the initiative and creativity of the masses, it is important to continue to increase the rates of progress forward.

All organizational, political and managerial efforts and the entire energy of labor collectives must be concentrated on completing both the present year and the 5-year plan periods as a whole with the best results, and worthily greeted the 27th congress of our Leninist Party. This is now the most urgent tasks, a practical and political task.

Historical experience convincingly shows that the loftiest dream regarding the happiness of a people, even if it is the dream of a genius, remains merely a noble dream if it fails to win over the masses. Advanced ideas, which have become the property of the popular masses, are being turned into a mighty, motive force of progress.

The policy of the Leninist Party, its mind and conscience, are correctly expressed by that which is recognized by the people, their thoughts, longings,

and hopes. We are convinced that the great cause of communism, to which the party has devoted itself, cannot be turned back.

(The speech was heard with great attention and received with sustained applause.)

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ON THE DRAFTS OF THE NEW EDITION OF THE CPSU PROGRAM, THE CHANGES IN THE CPSU BYLAWS, THE BASIC DIRECTIONS FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR THE YEARS 1986-1990 AND FOR THE PERIOD UP TO THE YEAR 2000. RESOLUTION OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE 15 OCTOBER 1985

LD151235 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15 Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85)  
pp 12-13

[Text] The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum has discussed the drafts of the new edition of the Program of the CPSU, the changes in the CPSU bylaws, the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Up To the Year 2000, and the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on these issues and resolves:

1. To approve the draft new edition of the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Prepared by the Commission of the CPSU Central Committee.
2. To approve the draft changes in the CPSU bylaws submitted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.
3. To approve the draft Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period up to the Year 2000.
4. To publish these documents in the press for discussion in the party, in work collectives, and among the broadest strata of the country's population.
5. The central committees of the communist parties of union republics, and the kray, oblast, okrug city and rayon party committees shall organize a discussion of the above-said documents at party meetings, conferences and congresses of the communist parties of union republics preceding the 27th Congress of the CPSU, and of the draft Basic Direction for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Up To the Year 2000 at meetings in work collectives, educational establishments, army units and public organizations.
6. The CPSU Central Committee stresses that work in discussing, propagating and explaining the draft new edition of the Party Program, changes in the CPSU bylaws and the Basic Directions should be businesslike and constructive in character and should be closely tied in with the solution of concrete current

and long-range tasks confronting the work collectives. It is necessary to put in the center of attention questions of intensification of production, of speeding up scientific and technical progress, of strengthening the regime of economy, enhancing organization and discipline in all sectors and perfecting work style. It is important to ensure the active and interested participation by communists and non-party people in the discussion of pre-congress documents. It is necessary to see to it that every person in the Soviet Union knows well the Program aims and tasks of the party, the meaning of our domestic and foreign policy and is deeply aware of the objective need for a considerable acceleration of the social and economic development of society as the basis for raising the welfare of the people, increasing the might of the socialist homeland and for its successful struggle for peace and security of the peoples.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses firm confidence that a nation-wide discussion of the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU Program, of changes in the CPSU bylaws and the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-90 and the Period Through the Year 2000 will be held at a high organizational and ideological-political level and will facilitate the elaboration, in time for the congress, of scientifically substantiated proposals, enriched with the experience of the party and the entire people, and will serve the further development of the creative initiative and activity of the working people in the efforts to ensure a successful implementation of state plans and socialist obligations for 1985, a vigorous start on the 12th Five-Year Plan and a worthy preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress.

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## EDITORIAL -- VITALITY OF THE TRADITIONS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

AU120801 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85)  
pp 14-23

[Text] On the eve of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, V.I. Lenin noted: "The further that great day moves away from us, the clearer the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia becomes and the more profoundly we also consider the practical experience of our work, taken as a whole." (Complete Collected Works, vol 44, p 144) Now, in the 68th year of the era opened by the October Revolution, the more clearly the unfading significance of this revolution for mankind -- the greatest revolution in history -- is apparent. And as Lenin foresaw, the further the glorious October days of 1917 move away from us, the more profoundly Soviet people, the working masses, and the progressive forces of the entire earth consider the multifaceted practical experience accumulated by the Leninist party and the world's first socialist state.

The interest of the progressive and liberation forces of the planet in comprehending and mastering the historical legacy of the Great October Revolution is profoundly justified and natural. It is conditioned by the fact that the October Revolution is not only the main event of the 20th century but also an exceptionally valuable source of the ideological-creative and revolutionary-practical experience of the struggle to implement scientific socialism.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks never imposed their experience on anyone. Ideas of the possibility of mechanically copying some revolution are completely alien to communists. It is another matter that Marxist-Leninists of all countries without exception have been and are always faced with the immensely important task of using the universal treasure-store and of mastering the experience both of victorious revolutions and of those which have suffered temporary defeat. Creative assimilation of this experience is the guarantee of the success of progressive and revolutionary forces and is a reliable path to new victories of scientific socialism. It was precisely in this manner that Lenin in his time approached the study of the experience and lessons of the Paris Commune, without setting himself the task of copying it at all.

The essence of the question is that in the lessons of the October revolution laws and principles crystallized which were of general significance for all



detachments of the proletarian class struggle during the entire age of the shift from capitalism to socialism. Of course, inherent in each country is an enormous diversity of national features and concrete historical conditions. But this diversity does not at all cancel out the significance of the universal principles revealed in practice in the course of all victorious socialist revolutions.

It simply requires the application of the common principles and laws of a single revolutionary theory for all, an application which, as Lenin stressed, would "CORRECTLY MODIFY these principles in DETAIL, and correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences." (Complete Collected Works, vol 41, p 77) One of the most important sources of Marxist-Leninist strength in fact lies in applying laws of general significance to the concrete conditions of each country and to a concrete situation, and in creatively mastering the dialectics of the general, the particular, and the concrete-specific.

The October Revolution brilliantly proved the great truth of Lenin's instruction that "ONLY A PARTY GUIDED BY ADVANCED THEORY CAN FULFILL THE ROLE OF A FRONT-RANK FIGHTER." (Complete Collected Works, vol 6, p 25) The development of a correct party policy and the successful leadership of the revolutionary struggle and of the construction of socialism are unthinkable without profound theoretical Marxist-Leninist analysis. A Communist Party cannot play the role of an organizing and directing force in the construction and perfecting of a new society if it does not pay proper attention to the interpretation of the processes which develop and constantly become more complicated, to the generalization of new phenomena, and to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The entire practice of social development shows a disdain for the universal, international teaching of Marxism-Leninism, eclecticism of world outlook, any kind of attempt to "splinter" or "soften" the unified ideological-theoretical foundation of the party of the workers class, as well as disregard for previous international theoretical and practical revolutionary experience inevitably turn into a surrender of positions to the class adversary and a loss of revolutionary potential.

Of course, communists do not regard their great revolutionary theory as being at a standstill and do not seek recipes to suit all cases in life in it. The strength of Marxism-Leninism consists in that, reflecting the objective laws of history and based on the best that has been created by the advanced thinkers of mankind, it is continually being renewed under the influence of the world revolutionary process. Reality itself enriches the theory with new experience, while experience, creatively interpreted in the light of Marxist-Leninist science, becomes an all-conquering weapon in the hands of the communists.

An example of such creative interpretation of the richest experience accumulated by the party is the preparation of the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program, which, as Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said at the October (1985) CPSU Central Committee plenum, "is based on Marxist-Leninist theory and a realistic analysis of the processes occurring within the country and the world arena, and gives a clear and well-developed description of the strategic

directions of the work of the party, the Soviet state, and the entire people proceeding from the communist perspective on the country's development."

The October Revolution proved, and subsequent socialist revolutions confirmed, the historical truth of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin that the break with capitalism and the shift to a new society cannot be the result of some smooth evolution or peaceful "growth". The victory of socialism is possible only as the result of stubborn class struggle, the achievement of state power by the workers class, the dismantling of the old state apparatus for suppressing and manipulating the working masses, the establishment of social ownership of the means of production, the creation of a system of deliberate management of all economic and social processes, and the development of socialist democracy and culture.

The experience of the October Revolution and of all socialist revolutions which have taken place in the world clearly demonstrated that these grandiose tasks can only be solved by the workers class led by a revolutionary party of a new, Bolshevik type. It is precisely the Leninist party which tempered in the furnace of harsh ordeals and having led our people through them, has been and continues to be the powerful creative and mobilizing force which ensures constant forward movement in all areas of social progress.

The most valuable qualities of the Communist Party which Lenin left to us are an exacting and self-critical attitude to one's own activity, intolerance toward conceit, to any sluggishness and conservatism, to self-satisfaction, and to ostentation, and also a creative search for new approaches to the solution of the increasingly complex problems posed by life. The unshakeable faithfulness of our party to the great legacy of Lenin and to the traditions of the October Revolution are manifest in the bold, truly revolutionary setting and consistent, purposeful solution to today's fundamental, pressing tasks of developing production forces, perfecting production relations, and of improving the living and working conditions of Soviet people.

The mighty, systematically developing socialist economy has made it possible in the shortest space of time for our country to make great advances in all areas of economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual development. The guaranteed right to work and to just remuneration for it, society's care for the individual, wide access to spiritual culture, respect for the worth and rights of the individual, and steady expansion of the participation of working people in managing all of the country's affairs are unfading, valuable and inseparable features of the socialist way of life.

The successes of socialism are obvious. Our people achieved them at a heavy cost. And the point is not only that the path of the pioneers -- the more so in such an incredibly difficult task as the construction of a new, historically unprecedented society -- is always complex, full of unexpected ruts and obstacles, and, like any process of construction, subject to failures and errors. The point is also that, over the entire period that we have covered since October 1917, the class enemy has done everything to artificially restrain the development of socialism. The two devastating wars which imperialism unleashed and which rolled over an enormous part of our country's territory incinerated and destroyed much of what had been created by

the work of millions of people. Colossal efforts were required in order to restore the national economy. International reaction never ceased its covert subversive activity against the Soviet state or its attempts to put pressure on our country and to impose participation in the arms race on it, in order to divert the mass of forces and means away from constructive goals and to hinder socialist society from revealing its colossal advantages and potential.

By utilizing our system's potential, we have been able to overcome all difficulties and transform the Soviet Union into the largest economic power in the world. Soviet people are rightly proud of the achievements of their socialist fatherland. Life, however, does not stand still. The dialectics of development are such that levels reached widen the historical horizons and set even more complex and responsible tasks before the Leninist party and the Soviet state and before all Soviet people. The times commandingly dictate the need to overcome the shortcomings and omissions which still exist in our country, to decisively improve affairs, to implement a number of important changes and transformations, and to achieve a new qualitative state of society in the widest sense of the word.

The interests of socialism and of the further progressive development and perfecting of it have now placed before our country the next task of enormous political and truly revolutionary significance, the task of raising the national economy to a completely new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level, of achieving a decisive shift in the intensification of social production and in increasing of its effectiveness, of carrying out a reorganization of planning and management and of structural and investment policy, of activating the entire system of political and social institutions, and of deepening socialist democracy and the people's self-government.

As Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee conference on questions of accelerating scientific-technical progress states, "in the eyes of the progressive world public, the Soviet Union has been and continues to be the embodiment of people's age-old social hopes. It must also be model of the highest degree of organization and effectiveness of the economy.... Thus, in both its domestic and its international aspects the task of accelerating the country's development has today acquired paramount political, economic, and social significance.... The solution of this task is an urgent, party-wide, and nationwide matter."

At present, when all over the country preparations have begun for the 27th CPSU Congress and when intensive and multifaceted work is being conducted in the party organizations to provide a profound interpretation of the problems set before Communists and all our people by the April and October (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, Soviet people increasingly clearly and distinctly recognize the necessity of being on top of the situation and of bearing personal responsibility for the solution of these problems. Our country's historical destiny and the positions of socialism in the contemporary world will largely depend on the way in which the Soviet people conduct matters in the future. In essence, what is involved is that at the new stage of historical development each of us, to whom our fathers and grandfathers have now passed on the baton of the October Revolution, is a worthy continuer of the work of those who, overcoming all difficulties and

deprivations and at the cost of superhuman efforts, and frequently also of their lives, created and defended the world's first socialist state.

We are faced with the task of utilizing the advantages of the plan system of economic operations, of putting into operation the gigantic organizational-economic and social reserves which socialism has at its disposal, and first and foremost, of activating the human factor. Every worker, kolkhoz member, and employee must display a genuinely bolshevik attitude to the task of any workplace and in any sphere of human activity, and must struggle against squandering and losses and for economization and rational, proprietary utilization of material and labor recourse. Here lies the key to solving the historically important task which has now been set by the party.

Of course, the implementation of this grandiose plan and a growth in the economy's effectiveness are unthinkable without the imposition of order at each enterprise and construction site, in the kolhoz and sovkhoz, and in each organization, without an increase in the demands made on specific individuals, from the worker to the minister, and without maximum energy, concentration, and discipline, this discipline including high standard of production, strict technological discipline, efficient fulfillment of contract obligations, and, it stands to reason, work discipline.

The entire experience of post-revolution development confirms the unfading significance of Lenin's tenet that the "the Communist organization of social work, toward which socialism is the first step, will last longer the more the working people themselves, who have thrown off the yoke of both landowners and capitalists, keep to a free and conscious discipline." (Complete Collected Works, vol 39, p 14)

An organized proletariat possessing iron discipline can withstand any onslaught by internal and external enemies and is capable of solving any tasks. In the difficult conditions of the post-revolution years Lenin declared: "A crusade is needed to make work discipline ... spread all over the country, and in order that the widest masses understand that there is no other way out." (Complete Collected Works, vol 36, p 368) The search for and creation of new forms and methods of closely involving people in work is, as Vladimir Ilich foresaw, the most important and difficult problem of socialism, which it will take more than one decade to solve. But this is, in his words, "the most gratifying and noble work." (Complete Collected Works, vol 40, p 316) It is at the steadfast conduct of this work that our party's efforts are aimed.

The living creative work of the masses themselves has, since October 1917, been the fundamental factor which has determined the development and achievements of the new society. Indeed, the strength of socialism and the basis for all our successes lie in the fact that thanks to the untiring ideological-political and organizational work of the Leninist party, tens of millions of working people regard the historical goals of the communists as their own vital concern. The realization of this important advantage of our system in present conditions, too, the activation of the masses, the search for the most effective forms of morally and materially stimulating their

independent creative activity and the encouragement of socialist competition will undoubtedly accelerate the forward advance of the Soviet fatherland.

In the final analysis the party regards the highest meaning of the acceleration of socioeconomic progress as being to steadily increase the welfare of Soviet people. The implementation of this most important task of socialism, which has been the basic long-term goal since the victory of the October Revolution, requires the consistent conduct of a policy of strengthening social justice in the distribution of material and spiritual goods. Implementation of this policy is impossible without effective measures to cleanse the distribution mechanism of the cause of levelling and unearned income and of everything that contradicts the economic norms and moral principles of our society, and without making the material position and prestige of each worker and each collective directly dependent on the results of their work.

Faithfulness to the traditions of the October Revolution is the course of our society's non-acceptance of parasites, idlers, and bad workers, of money-grubbers, bribe-takers, and speculators, of plunderers and squanderers of state resources, that is, of all those who encroach on socialist property and who, taking advantage of some or other unsolved economic problems, virtually rob a proportion of working people and live on dubious or illegal means. The approval of all the people is being won by the decisive measures to further impose order, to cleanse our life of phenomena which are alien to us, such as drunkenness and alcoholism and of any encroachments on the rights of society and its citizens, and also to strengthen socialist legality.

Bearing in mind the petit bourgeois spontaneity which was a threat in the first post-revolution years of the young Soviet Republic, Lenin set the goals of "CLEANSING the Russian land of all kinds of dangerous insects...." (Complete Collected Works, vol 35, p 204). As practice shows, "dangerous insects" of this kind still survive in our land today.

The party's merciless struggle now developing against minor and major embezzlement, falsely inflated figures, attempts to virtually exploit socialism in the interests of personal enrichment, various antisocial phenomena, and a philistine, consumer psychology, essentially expresses nothing other than the Soviet working people's class defense of the great achievements of socialism and of that system of ownership which was established once and for all as a result of the victory of the October Revolution.

The overcoming of private-ownership tendencies and of various kinds of negative phenomena which are alien to the Soviet way of life, the creation of firm obstacles to deviations from socialist principles, the liquidation of any sources of unearned income together with a simultaneous increase in the role of material and moral encouragement for conscientious and effective work, and the establishment everywhere of the norms of communist morality require the untiring efforts of the party and all working people as well as the perfecting of the forms and methods of managing the economic, social and spiritual processes. Consistent implementation of the policy of strengthening social



justice in distributing material and spiritual goods will undoubtedly contribute to solving important socioeconomic, political and ideological-educational tasks, to making Soviet people deeply interested in achieving planned goals, and to increase still more their awareness, organization, and work and social activeness.

The successful implementation of the party's plans directly depends of the strictest observance of the Leninist principles for the selection, deployment, and education of cadres. "Wherever these principles are violated and wherever promotion of workers occurs on the basis of personal favor, subservience and protectionism, there inevitably follows a dampening of criticism and self-criticism, a weakening of links with the masses, and as a result, failures in work. In our time the center of attention is the uncompromising struggle against indifference, laxity, and squandering, and the increasing of leaders' sense of responsibility, their efficiency, and their ability to find innovative approaches to problems, to effectively put ideas into practice, and to creatively resolve questions which arise, placing only one thing--the people's interests--above all else.

Following Lenin's behests, the CPSU makes the highest demands on Communists and concerns itself untiringly with increasing the title and significance of the party member. In all sectors it is precisely they who are expected to set an example for the fulfillment of civic duty and conscientious work. The ever greater intensification of the demands made on each Communist for a pure and honest image of party member, and image which is incompatible with self-satisfaction and conceit, arrogance and immodesty, is also quite natural. It is exceptionally important that not one single organization or worker remain outside party control, in order that responsibility increases both centrally and locally for fulfillment of party and government directives.

"Through acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development to the achievement of a new qualitative state of society--such is the formula which expresses the essence of the party's contemporary course," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev noted at the October (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The implementation of the decisions adopted by the party will make it possible to significantly strengthen our economy, to increase the welfare of Soviet people, and to make the country's defense more reliable, and will become a major milestone on the road begun by the October Revolution.

The powerful revolutionizing influence of the Great October Revolution gave the main direction to all world development. This influence is shown with incontestable force in the development of the revolutionary process and in the strengthening of the potential for peace which unites the countries of socialism, the international workers and communist movement, dozens of young independent states, and the broad antiwar and democratic movements. It is very natural that the peoples of the planet link their hopes for a lasting peace and for the salvation of the earth from the all-consuming flames of a new war to the social system born of the October Revolution and to the peace-loving foreign policy of the land of the soviets.

As a result of the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II, in which the Soviet Union played the decisive role, the positions of

progressive, democratic forces were strengthened, which led to the victory of a new social system in a number of countries of Europe and Asia and later in America. The world socialist system formed and traversed a great path, and the community of socialist states was formed. Socialism, which in our time has already become firmly established on three continents, has proven its vital tenacity and has made accomplishments on a historic scale possible in the shortest space of time. Today it acts as a mighty world system which has an enormous influence on mankind's development and future, and which serves as an invincible factor for peace and a guarantee of people's security. Manifest in the community of fraternal states is a new, historically unprecedented type of international relations between sovereign states possessing equal rights, united by their community of fundamental interests and goals and by a unified Marxist-Leninist ideology, and bound together by the ties of comradely solidarity and mutual assistance.

In the conditions of the powerful democratic shift all over the world in the postwar years, the international workers' class achieved a considerable number of successes in the social and political struggle against monopolist capital. The communist parties, which were able to apply revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching to the conditions of their countries, had an enormous and irreplaceable role in this.

The importance of the cohesion of all forces of social progress and democracy, and primarily the communist movement, is great as never before. The communist movement was born under the banners of proletarian internationalism. Its inexhaustible strength lies in its faithfulness to those banners. Experience shows that in the final analysis, parties which, for the sake of some or other temporary, transient goals, deviate from the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and ignore the richest experience of class, revolutionary struggle and socialist construction which has been accumulated since the October Revolution, are inevitably faced with the negative consequences of such actions, and sometimes with a turn of events which leads to a weakening of class positions. Faithfulness to the general principles of theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism has been and continues to be an indispensable condition for the Communists' implementation of their historical mission.

One of the most important results of the new arrangement of class forces in the international arena in the postwar period was the rise of the national liberation struggle, which led to the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and to the formation of dozens of young national states. They are now solving a no less historically important task, which is the task of complete liberation from imperialist exploitation and of rebuffing neocolonialism and the policy of aggression practiced by international reaction.

Inspired by the accomplishments of the October Revolution and by the progress of an unprecedented time-span and scale made by the peoples of previously backward outlying districts of tsarist Russia in the conditions of socialism, and relying on the selfless assistance and support of the socialist community, many liberated countries rejected the path of capitalist development and chose the socialist orientation.

One of the greatest revolutionary achievements of the October Revolution and of the further growth in the economic and defense might of the land of the soviets was the creation of objective potential making it possible to avert a universal catastrophe of war and to protect and save life on earth itself. Mankind will never forget that the first act of Soviet power was the proclamation of Lenin's Decree on Peace, heralding the appearance of a fundamentally new factor in history, which was that of a state which considers its main task in the sphere of international relations to be the struggle for peace and against imperialism and its strategy of preparing for and unleashing wars. Lenin regarded the October Revolution in itself as the first victory in the cause of eliminating wars. (see: Complete Collected Works, vol 44, p 149) Lenin was also responsible for substantiating the expediency of peaceful coexistence from the point of view of the interests of socialism and the working masses of all countries. As far as the Soviet state is concerned, Lenin stressed that is "wishes to live in peace with all peoples and to direct all its strength toward internal construction...." (Complete Collected Works, vol 39, p 413) The struggle of the progressive, peace-loving forces of the planet for the establishment of the principles of peoples' and states' equal rights, for international cooperation, and for the relaxation of tension, a struggle which is becoming increasingly widespread at the present time, is nothing other than the practical implementation of Lenin's views on peaceful coexistence, and the embodiment of the ideas of peace and security for all peoples proclaimed by the October Revolution.

The Soviet Union follows, and intends to firmly follow in the future, the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence which is determined by our very social system, morality, and world outlook. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries against the imperialist policy of threats and violence, and they come out firmly against these countries being turned into the course of monopolies' enrichment and their territories being used as military bases and bridgeheads for aggression. "We say openly and clearly," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev states, "that the Soviet Union is on the side of those who are fighting for freedom, national independence, and social justice." This was so in the post-revolution years. Now, too, the CPSU and the Soviet state are unshakeably faithful to the Leninist principles of solidarity with our class brothers, the fighters against imperialist oppression and enslavement.

This year all of progressive mankind celebrated the 40th anniversary of victory in the war which threatened the world with fascist enslavement. The CPSU and the Soviet state regard the main meaning of their foreign policy activity as being to prevent a new world war and to save the human species from the very possibility of a nuclear cataclysm.

Though the fault of the aggressive forces of imperialism, the international situation continues to be alarming and dangerous. Reactionary circles of the U.S. ruling classes continue to be pioneers in the arms race and are sabotaging disarmament. They are constantly creating hotbeds of conflict, interfering in the internal affairs of other states and peoples, and inflaming the situation in now one and then another region of the world.



At the negotiations in Geneva they refuse to discuss the question of preventing the arms race from spreading into outer space simultaneously with the discussion on the question of limiting and reducing nuclear weapons on earth, thus breaking the accord reached by the Soviet Union and the United States. The American financial and oligarchical elites havenot renounced their ambitious plans of achieving a dominant position in the world, primarily in the military sphere.

Struck by a deep crisis, capitalism is attempting to solve its problems by means of unrestrained militarization and by attacking many of the social achievements of working people, suffocating the forces of national liberation, trampling on the sovereignty and independence of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries and intensifying their neocolonial dependence on imperialist states. Reactionary forces have not abandoned their delusive hopes of halting the inexorable progress of history, of making socialism retreat, of weakening it, and of using threats, blackmail, intervention, and war to resolve in their favor the historical argument between the two world systems which arose as early as October 1917. The generator and strike force of this global policy of social revanchism are the most aggressive militarist circles of American imperialism, which are attempting to activate and lead the subversive activity of international reaction against the forces for peace, freedom, democracy, progress and socialism.

The alarming position which has arisen in the world calls for the vigilance and activeness of all who are genuinely interested in ensuring a peaceful future for present and coming generations. The adventurist plans and actions of imperialism are meeting with growing resentment and resistance all over the world from the most diverse social and political forces. Tens of millions of honest people, irrespective of their party allegiance or political, ideological and religious views and convictions, are coming out against the threat of war and the arms race. Communists are, as before, in the front ranks of this worldwide army of fighters for the salvation of human civilization. There is no doubt that sooner or later the ruling elite of the United States will have to recognize the realities of the contemporary world and to take account of the will of peoples.

As far as the USSR and Soviet communists are concerned, they are doing and will continue to do everything possible to defend peace on earth and to avert the threat of nuclear war. Since the October Revolution our country has been fighting so that people's strength and energy and the genius of mankind are directed not toward the creation of newer and newer means of destruction but toward the liquidation of hunger, poverty and disease and toward the goals of prosperity and peaceful development, and so that all international problems are solved by the only rational means, by means of honest negotiations on an equal basis and of the observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence. From the very beginning of the nuclear era the Soviet Union has been conducting a consistent and energetic struggle to halt the accumulation of nuclear arsenals, to curb military rivalry, and to strengthen confidence and peaceful cooperation between states.

The new and exceptionally important peace initiatives of the USSR represent a major step in this direction. Striving to promote the halting of the dangerous competition in the buildup of nuclear arsenals and wishing to set a good example, our country made a decision to unilaterally cease all nuclear explosions, starting from 6 August this year, and called upon the U.S. government to make a positive response to this initiative by ceasing its own nuclear explosions.

The widest response by the peace-loving public was also met with by the wide-scale constructive peace initiative put forward during Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's visit to France and aimed at improving the international climate and at halting and turning back the material preparations for war which imperialism has developed. Washington official circles, however, occupied a negative position with regard to the Soviet Union's initiatives. The United States responded to the Soviet proposals at the United Nations on international cooperation in the peaceful conquest of outer space in conditions of its non-militarization, and to our moratorium on the testing of anti-satellite weapons, by conducting the first combat test of such a weapon. In addition, one more "hate campaign" was developed against the USSR. The U.S. administration thus made it understand yet again that it does not wish to move along the road of detente but is, as before concentrating its main attention not on halting the arms race, but on continuing it and on perfecting weapons of mass destruction.

Our country has stated more than once that it does not strive for military supremacy, but is in favor of maintaining a balance of military forces, at a lower level, if possible. But neither will we allow the military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, and between the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO, which has been achieved at great cost and which restrains the aggressive appetites of imperialism, to be destroyed. The Soviet Union will continue to spare no efforts to further strengthen its Armed Forces which stand watch over peace, the common interests of the socialist community, and in the final analysis, the interests of the whole of mankind.

While resolutely rejecting any attempts at imperialist dictate, the Soviet Union is at the same time ready for honest and serious dialogue aimed at finding accords which take account of the interests and security of all countries and peoples. Our country does not lack the good will or the resolution to conduct a constructive dialogue on all cardinal international questions. Energetic efforts are constantly being made on the Soviet side with the aim of halting the development of unfavorable trends in world affairs and of achieving a turn for the better in Soviet-U.S. affairs. And if the West shows that it understands that in this day and age it is possible to talk to the Soviet Union and the socialist world only as equals and by renouncing attempts at dictate "from a position of strength", plans to undermine the military-strategic balance, and slanderous anti-Soviet campaigns, then of course a change for the better in the development of international relations and a reduction in the present dangerous tension in the world will become possible.

To the lot of our country--the pioneer in the construction of a new society--and of the other fraternal socialist states fell the great mission of using all of their mighty economic and defense potential to further the preservation of universal peace, mankind's progress, and the defense potential to further the preservation of universal peace, mankind's progress, and the defense of peoples' sacred rights to life and to social and national liberation, and also to rebuff the contemporary pretenders to world domination and all forces of international reaction and counterrevolution. No one can have any doubt that this great mission will continue to be fulfilled with honor.

The present anniversary of the October Revolution is being celebrated in the period of the CPSU's preparations for its 27th Congress, which is to adopt the new edition of the Party Program, the Basic Directions of the Country's Economic and Social Development for the 12th 5-Year Plan and for the Period to 2000, as well as changes to the CPSU Statutes. Soviet people are looking to the morrow with confidence and hope.

They are convinced that the future belongs to socialism, whose victorious march all over the world began in Russia in the October days of 1917. The great legacy of those days, which truly shook the world, has served and continues to serve as mighty foundations for us and as our reliable compass on the road to communism.

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## TOWARDS THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS

### USEFUL INSTRUMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85) pp 24-33

[Article by B. Paton, president of the Ukranian SSR Academy of Sciences, twice Hero of Socialist Labor]

[Text] The comprehensive enhancement of the pace of scientific and technical progress is of truly key, decisive significance in the implementation of the strategic tasks of the present stage of economic and social development. This was particularly emphasized at the June 1985 CPSU Central Committee conference.

The ideas and conclusions voiced at the conference are already having a tangible effect on shaping contemporary economic thinking among personnel on all levels. A mandatory element in this must be the profound understanding of the fact that we can eliminate certain difficulties in economic development, achieve a decisive upturn in production intensification and accelerate the implementation of large scale social programs precisely through the comprehensive acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the national economy.

Here science plays a great and responsible role. It is the area in which innovations which steadily enrich the content of the production process and drastically broaden the constructive possibilities of society are born.

The practical function of science is becoming increasingly clear as an objective law of social development. The extent to which this function is taken into consideration by society and its actual embodiment in the activities of scientific research collectives, in the organizational methods used in their management and in their interaction with production collectives decisively determines both the ability of science to meet through actual deeds the requirements of the national economy and the latter's receptiveness of scientific achievements.

In noting the fact that the scientific organizations must take a practical direction in their activities, the party points out that "the tasks of science must be considered in a new way, through the lens of the requirements of the time, through the requirements of a decisive turn of science to the needs of social production and of production to science. It is from such positions

that all links which bind science, technology and production together, must be analyzed and strengthened."

Three basic features are clearly outlined in the sum total of problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The first, which is obvious to anyone, and which holds a firm position in social awareness, is that of acquiring new knowledge on the basis of the expansion and intensification of basic and applied research. The second, which is equally taken into consideration by most scientific institutions which try to make a real contribution to the development of the country's economy, is the urgent materializing of the results of research in highly efficient technologies and technical means needed by the national economy. Finally, the third which, unfortunately, is least of all taken into consideration, is the fact that not only must specific scientific and technical innovations be offered to the national economy but also that a permanent technical retooling of the production process on this basis must be ensured. This must be done on time and on a corresponding scale.

It is a question of substantially improving two mechanisms in the functioning of which a firm interdependence must be assured, i.e., the generation of scientific and technical achievements and their transfer to functional production facilities. We must see to it that they reliably ensure the high efficiency of scientific and technical cooperation and the deep integration of science with production, and contribute to upgrading the growth rates of the national income and labor productivity and ensure the successful solution of problems related to the intensive development of the national economy.

The Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences traditionally pays great attention to each one of these trends of activity. The academy scientists try comprehensively to bring their studies closer to the needs of the national economy. The energetic technological application of their results on the scale of entire sectors has been assisted in recent years by special subunits--engineering centers--set up in a number of leading academy institutes.

The establishment of engineering centers was preceded by a lengthy search for an efficient method for the organization of research and the application of its results. This search effected the very process of scientific activities, the structure of academic institutions and the broad area of creative cooperation between scientists and production workers.

The most substantive end result of basic research--progressive technology--is the main link in scientific and technical progress. Its development requires a firm scientific base. Empiricism with its inherent element of randomness cannot be a reliable foundation for contemporary technology, particularly if we take into consideration the growing role of the time factor. Realizing this, the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Presidium carried out a set of measures reflecting the growing "technological orientation" of large scale science, along with pursuing the further intensification of basic research. The immediate objective pursued in this case was to take as fully into consideration as was possible the objective trend toward combining theoretical and experimental studies with applied developments. In other words, this was a question of combining basic scientific research, specific applied

developments based on it and their engineering and technological interpretation.

Therefore, the technological developments at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences do not replace but supplement theoretical studies, taking them to their logical completion. The experience we have gained indicates that success in basic research is directly dependent on the extent to which it is purposeful. Purposefulness enables us to take more fully into consideration the dialectics of interaction between science and production. The path from the birth of a scientific idea to technological developments ready for extensive application, prototypes, materials with predetermined properties, etc., turns out, in this case, as a rule to be much shorter, while quality improves. All of this leads to the conclusion that the tasks of intensive development of the national economy maximally correspond to the mass organization of purposeful basic research.

The main channel along which the flow of our scientific achievements runs into the economy, enriching and qualitatively transforming the productive forces of socialist forces is the system of scientific and technical target programs. The UkSSR Academy of Sciences actively participates in the implementation of state scientific and technical programs on different levels. During the 11th 5-Year Plan the UkSSR Academy of Sciences institutes are engaged in scientific research and experimental design projects within the framework of 138 union and republic programs.

However, the pace of contemporary scientific and technical development is so fast that even on this basis the utilization of newly arising opportunities for perfecting the production process cannot be ensured efficiently and with sufficient completeness. A kind of contradiction develops between solid and time-tested forms of organization and application of research and their insufficient expediency. Let us add to this the unfortunately substantial number of objective and subjective obstacles which invariably appear in the the implementation of scientific developments, substantially hindering it.

One of the main reasons for the difficulties related to the application of scientific achievements in production are the notorious departmental barriers. Essentially, they consist of a misunderstanding of the true interests of enterprises, associations and entire sectors, which should not be pitted, yet in fact are, against national economic and national interests.

It is clear that this situation cannot be considered normal in the least. The interests of our state call for decisive changes in this area. It is important, therefore, in all cases to determine the areas of interaction between science and production at which departmental tangles and bureaucratic hindrances appear and what should be done and how to ensure immediate improvements in the situation.

In its effort to give its cooperation with production facilities greater scope, efficiency and purposefulness, the UkSSR Academy of Sciences is supplementing its activities within the framework of the state plan with the organization of extensive scientific and technical cooperation among research and production collectives on different levels. The joint projects conducted



by the academy with ministries and departments have been quite efficient and have become quite widespread. These plans combine all the problems of the organizational, cadre, material and technical and financial support of projects carried out in the interest of the sectors.

At the present time the UkSSR Academy of Sciences institutions maintain creative ties with enterprises and organizations of 35 all-union and union-republic ministries, 20 UkSSR ministries and departments and 10 ministries in other union republics. The UkSSR Academy of Sciences institutes operate 57 sectorial problem laboratories for 29 all-union and republic ministries. The activities of these laboratories contribute to the acceleration of the practical implementation of theoretical accomplishments in resolving the difficult problems facing the national economic sectors.

The intensified purposefulness of basic research, its technological orientation and the consistent course of strengthening the creative cooperation among scientists and production workers have resulted in profound qualitative transformations in the structure of scientific institutions.

The need drastically to upgrade the level of readiness of scientific developments for extensive industrial application required the creation within the Academy of Sciences of its own experimental design and experimental production base, the organization of which we undertook as early as the 1960s. Currently the overall number of facilities of this base totals 74, compared to its 16 in 1965. They include 10 experimental plants, 27 testing and experimental production lines, 32 construction bureaus and five computer centers. Large scientific and technical complexes (NTK) were developed and are successfully operating on the basis of a number of leading institutes; in addition to the institutes they include design bureaus, experimental production facilities and experimental plants. The fact that the entire cycle of work is completed, from idea to application, makes it possible for the academic complexes to significantly reduce the time needed for the practical implementation of scientific developments.

All of this contributed to improving the interaction between the academy and many ministries and the departments, particularly in the case of developments of sectorial significance. It is obvious that a high quality and well developed technology which can contribute to the implementation of the production plan and to substantially improving sectorial indicators is not rejected as a rule. It is a different matter when a technology, piece of equipment or material may be used by several sectors. Sometimes no one wishes to assume the burden of its application.

The use of essentially new developments of intersectorial nature creates particular difficulties. Their application, as we know, involves maximal difficulties. However, it is precisely such projects that most frequently provide a solution to the biggest national economic problems.

New developments, the sectorial affiliation of which leaves no doubt, are the concern of sectorial scientific research and design-engineering institutes. As a rule, no organizations dealing with problems involving more than one sector exists. As a result, even a quality of intersectorial developments,

such as their extensive applicability, serves them poorly. The multisectorial use of such innovations prevents a clear determination of what specific department could assume responsibility for their fate.

Long practical experience gained by the UkSSR Academy of Sciences in organizing the extensive practical utilization of intersectorial new developments proves that the numerous difficulties which must be surmounted in this case are related less to the scientific content of the novelties than the absence of adequate organizational forms which could reliably ensure the solution of the entire set of problems arising in the course of the application process. The latter circumstance became particularly tangible after studies conducted by academy scientists resulted in a number of major accomplishments of great practical significance.

The establishment of problem-oriented structural subunits--engineering centers--was a qualitative new step in resolving problems by a number of leading scientific and technical complexes (NTK) of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences.

The establishment of such centers becomes necessary when the practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements is not ensured technologically in their potential areas of application, above all due to the lack of necessary specialist cadres. It is precisely such a situation that may be noted in the case of truly revolutionary developments. Their practical utilization becomes possible only when the scientific institutions have their own design and technological subdivisions and experimental production facilities whose work is closely related to the activities of the respective scientific departments or, in other words, when the academic institutes are reorganized into powerful scientific and technical complexes. The UkSSR Academy of Sciences already has six such complexes and the possibility of creating many new ones is under consideration.

The UkSSR Academy of Sciences scientific and technical complexes hold a leading position in the country in some scientific and technical areas. They have developed a substantial background in basic and applied research; they have a significant potential of scientific and engineering and technical cadres with proper qualifications and experience in resolving major scientific and technical problems. It is thanks to this that the NTK develops facilities for the organization and successful functioning of engineering centers within them, the activities of which cover the entire set of problems of accelerated development and extensive application of essentially new technologies.

The engineering center is, above all, a target-oriented creative collective. As a special problem-oriented subdivision, it works in direct contact with the respective scientific departments of the institute. Despite differences in problems to be resolved, the activities of the engineering centers are based on identical organizational-structural principles. Such centers include a number of departments of the self-supporting design and technological organization of the NTK; experimental production facilities or an experimental plant, which is part of the NTK, have been assigned to them.



The engineering center is accountable to the NTK office and the scientific manager of the corresponding institute department in matters of planning the topics of experimental design and engineering-technological developments, the application of new types of machines, equipment and materials and the training and retraining of specialists. The administrative-economic, technical and financial activities of the center are managed by its director together with the office of the design-technological organization of which it is a part. It is precisely such an organizational structure that allows efficient solution of the specific problems assigned to the center.

The engineering center maintains cost accounting relations with production associations and enterprises of different ministries and departments, which act either as customers for its output and services or manufacturers of the latest technological equipment and materials needed by the center. To an engineering center the "external environment" includes the sum total of related scientific research and design-engineering organizations with which it interacts closely.

Based on their specialization, the engineering centers undertake the profound study of the needs of the national economy for technological and equipment developments and determine the efficient areas for their application.

Alone or in cooperation with others, the centers organize the manufacturing of prototypes and test series of the latest equipment, instruments and materials. Center specialists acquaint representatives of production facilities with progressive technologies and samples of the latest equipment and materials and demonstrate their possibility of resolving specific sectorial technological problems.

The formulation of suggestions on the organization of series manufacturing of new equipment, the development of design and engineering documentation for the extensive application of the latest technologies, equipment and materials, the creation of new shops, sectors, technological lines and flexible production systems and modernizing existing production facilities are major tasks of the engineering centers. Before undertaking the series production of new developments by industry, the centers undertake to supply equipment and material prototypes to enterprises working for the national economy or for export. Naturally, it is precisely the engineering centers which assume responsible assignments, such as training skilled specialists for the efficient utilization for the newly created equipment or technology in industrial sectors, providing scientific and technical and consultation assistance to ministries, production associations and enterprises in defining technical application policy and problems of mastering and utilizing new developments and the creation of service subdivisions in the individual sectors.

The structure of the engineering center enables it successfully to eliminate departmental barriers and to gain a substantial amount of time. By concentrating within it most of the efforts in applying an innovation and having authorship rights over it, it not only relieves ministries and departments from the need to resolve a number of difficult problems but, within a very broad range, can modify developments in the interest of the

sector and ensure their qualitative improvement directly in the course of the application process. This prevents significant losses in time and resources, which inevitably appear in the use of other organizational methods for the technological combination of different generations of new equipment.

The engineering centers relieve research scientists from the need to resolve many routine and labor-intensive problems directly related to the organization of the application process. This makes it possible to concentrate efforts on the solution of new scientific and technical problems. The activities of the engineering centers lead to the development of a stable feedback with industry, which stimulates the further conduct of purposeful basic research in the interest of the national economic sectors.

The concentration of the functions on the industrial mastery of complex prototypes of new equipment and basically new technologies in specialized organizations is a major trend in contemporary scientific and technical development, manifested ever more tangibly in a number of industrially developed countries. In the United States, for example, big corporations fund a large number of small application (so-called venture) companies, which concentrate on eliminating the negative consequences of technical conservatism. In the big corporations the scientific research process is separated from production activities physically as well as organizationally. Here engineering research centers are created, which specialize in basic engineering research. The purpose of all of this is to maintain the competitiveness of American industry in the world marketplace.

In the UkSSR Academy of Sciences work on the development of engineering centers was initiated 5-6 years ago. Organizationally, they took shape in 1984. Currently we have eight engineering centers. The "Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK has six: pressure welding, electron-beam technology, robotization of welding structures, electric slag technology, reinforcing and protective coating and blast metal processing. The Institute of Cybernetics imeni V. M. Glushkov NTK has a microelectronics engineering center; and the Institute of Extrahard Materials NTK has an engineering center for the development of equipment under high pressure and temperatures for the production of superhard materials.

The pressure welding engineering center of the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK has demonstrated the possibility of successfully resolving complex scientific, production and organizational problems related to the extensive industrial application of essentially new technologies.

The activities of this center are based on a substantial stock of basic and applied research conducted by the institute in developing new pressure welding methods: spot welding with continuing pulse sweating of large parts, friction welding, arc welding in a magnetic field, etc. All of these are distinguished by their high productivity, which enables us to reliably combine hard-to-weld materials, can be fully automated and are well adapted to mechanized assembly-line production.

The development and application of technologies using pressure welding contributes to the acceleration of the pace of technical progress in a number of industrial sectors, in construction and in transportation. Taking this into consideration as well as the difficulty and multisectorial nature of the problems arising here, the pressure welding engineering center actively interacts with enterprises and organizations of nine different ministries. Here problems of the manufacturing and mastery of the latest equipment, organization of cooperated production, consideration of technological features of individual sectors and training skilled cadres for the application, operation and servicing of new equipment are resolved on a parallel basis.

The close creative cooperation based on a single topic plan among institute scientists, OKTB [design and technological bureaus], and experimental plant workers and engineers makes it possible to develop contemporary welding equipment, to create and test various new assemblies and control systems and to try technological processes quickly. Only slightly over 2 years were needed to carry out scientific studies, develop a technology, design, manufacture and apply a range of high-efficiency welding equipment unparalleled at home and abroad. Such projects were awarded the Lenin Prize and the UkSSR State Prize, and gold medals at international exhibitions. United States, Canadian, Japanese and Austrian companies purchased five licenses for equipment and technology for contact welding. Every year sales of Soviet welding equipment to these countries brings in up to \$2 million.

In 1984 the scale of application of new pipe welding sets was considerably expanded with the participation of the engineering center. Three "Sever-1" sets, six K584M pipe welding systems, and four machines for welding construction structures with total economic benefits of 6.8 million rubles per year were applied above the plan. Three new pipe welding systems were prepared for interdepartmental testing; they will be produced on a series basis by the enterprises of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry; experimental design work on new welding machine prototypes was also increased.

Currently, one-of-a-kind technologies and machines for welding large sections made of high-strength aluminum alloys are being developed; this will have a revolutionary impact on machine building. A new type of equipment for contact welding of pipes, ranging from the smallest possible diameters to superpowerful pipelines 1,420 millimeters in diameter, is being developed for the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. The use of such equipment during the 12th 5-Year Plan will enable the ministry to release as many as 5,000 highly skilled welders and to increase labor productivity by a 3-5 factor.

The activities of the other engineering centers as well are concentrated on accelerating the application of research work in the most important areas of scientific and technical progress.

The engineering center for electron-ray technology of the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK is engaged in solving a number of problems on the application of basically new developments in the various economic sectors, based on basic studies of physical and chemical laws governing electron-ray smelting and evaporation of inorganic materials in a vacuum environment.

The results of such studies are being used by more than 40 enterprises of eight ministries and largely determine the scientific and technical production standard, particularly in machine building. The creation of this center enables us significantly to broaden our ties with industry, to shorten the time for application of developments by one-half and to organize the training of skilled cadres.

The difficulty and essential novelty of the problems which arise in the use of robots and robot engineering sets in welding determined the need for the creation of an engineering center for robotization of welding structures at the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK. In less than 2 years the center developed modern robot engineering systems which are being used in a number of machine building sectors. Cooperation has already been established with enterprises of five ministries and projects are being worked jointly with organizations in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

The activities of the electric slag technology engineering center of the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK, which is cooperating with eight ministries, are aimed at accelerating technological developments and creating equipment for centrifugal and electroslag shell casting, and increasing the scale of its application in national economic sectors. Conversion to the production of machine building billets with the help of electroslag processes helps us to economize significant amounts of metal, abandon the expensive forging operation, reduce the volume of machining and upgrade labor productivity and production standards.

The effective protection of the surface of parts and structures from the destructive influence of external factors is a major intersectorial national economic problem. The creation of an engineering and technical center for hardening and protective coating by the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK contributes to its solution. Its work is concentrated on increasing the use of equipment and technology for gas heat, ion-plasma detonation and electric arc coating processes. The successful mastery of such developments by industry upgrades the reliability and durability of machines and equipment, saves metal and scarce alloying elements, and lowers production costs. In particular, problems of rebuilding worn out parts for mining equipment, heavy duty dump trucks and other equipment are being resolved successfully.

The engineering center for detonation metal processing of the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK promotes the development of technologies, equipment and materials based on basic research of detonation processes. The center is essentially engaged in developing technological processes for construction welding and metal cutting by detonation, and covering all stages in the cycle from idea to drafting design and technological documentation and applying developments in industrial practices. It is cooperating with eight ministries.

It is thanks to the work of this center that problems related to combining electric-current conducting elements of the contact grid of the country's electrified railroads were resolved; here the detonation method helped to

replace bolt coupling and repairs along petroleum pipelines and their branches through detonation cutting without interrupting the pumping of the petroleum, underwater detonation cutting, etc.

Progress in the electronic industry is inseparable from the extensive and comprehensive automation of designing, developing and manufacturing microelectronic items and microprocessor equipment. This is the area of activities of the microelectronics engineering center of the Cybernetics Institute imeni V. M. Glushkov NTK. Here one-of-a-kind automated machinery for a number of technological processes involved in the production of semiconductor integrated circuits were manufactured and tested under industrial conditions. In the future, together with enterprises of the Ministry of Electronic Industry, the center is planning the development of flexible automated production facilities for extralarge integrated circuits based on automated shops. This will enable us substantially to reduce the labor- and energy-intensiveness of output and to lower the number of workers and the size of production areas, respectively, by a factor of three and four.

The activities of the engineering center for the development of high pressure and temperature equipment for the production of extrahard materials of the Extrahard Materials Institute NTK are concentrated on the accelerated development and industrial mastery of progressive technologies and systems for the production of synthetic diamonds. Such technologies are the result of basic research conducted by the institute of physical and chemical processes which take place in the crystalizing of diamonds from smelts. The extensive use of these developments and instruments manufactured with superhard materials enabled us to raise to a qualitatively new standard production technology in a number of machine building, extracting industry and construction sectors.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee approved the work of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences on the organization of engineering centers as a new, highly efficient method for linking science with production. The decree which the Ukraine CP Central Committee passed calls for the dissemination of this experience and the creation of new engineering centers above all where the necessary conditions to this effect have become available. The suggestion of the UkSSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences on establishing a joint engineering center was supported. This center will undertake the extensive implementation of the scientific and technical developments of the academy aimed at preparing metal goods for industrial use and the efficient utilization of secondary resources.

Work on broadening the network of engineering centers at the UkSSR Academy of Sciences is continuing. The experience of the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton NTK, which was given a high rating by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in the course of his trip to the Ukraine, proves that a contemporary scientific and technical complex must have an entire network of engineering centers for specialized research areas. It is only thus that the engineering and technological interpretation of major scientific results and fast promotion of innovations in production sectors can be ensured.



The Academy has started preparations for the creation of eight new engineering centers, which will concentrate on accelerating the development of progressive technologies and their extensive application and highly efficient utilization in areas such as production robotization, development of lined and vibration-proof structures, open-pit mining of minerals, insulation coating of pipelines, development of polyethylene pipelines for the various economic sectors, use of nitrogen for food conservation, automated processing of bank information and development of information-computer systems.

An urgent need has developed for the opening of new engineering centers in areas such as machine building, power industry, construction, transportation, communications, land reclamation, comprehensive development of the infrastructure, environmental protection and others. Such centers must be created not only in the Ukraine. There are many large scientific institutions in the country which hold leading positions in domestic and world science in many important research areas. They contain large scientific forces and have developed a strong reserve of basic and applied research. As a rule, they also have sufficiently developed design and production facilities. All of this enables them to set up engineering centers in respective areas of scientific and technical progress.

The organization of new engineering centers and upgrading the efficiency of those already extant largely depends on resolving a number of basic organizational, economic and legal problems, not all of which are within the competence of the Academy of Sciences. This requires the assistance of planning and financial bodies, the State Committee for Science and Technology and sectorial ministries and departments.

In particular, a number of legal regulations must be reviewed, especially standards which call for the application of new technologies in the production of highly reliable, durable and economical items. The engineering centers require special-purpose funds from state reserves for ensuring the application of progressive scientific and technical developments which are related to the restructuring of the production process and the creation of new enterprises, shops and sections. The system of material and technical procurements used by enterprises of industry or ministries must apply to them also.

The annual plans for economic and social development should allow the engineering centers to use some of the capacities of the machine building enterprises of the respective ministries for commodity output. The engineering centers would assume full responsibility for the marketing of such goods. The material incentive system of engineering center personnel should be perfected as well.

Unfortunately, the solution of all such problems is being unjustifiably delayed. Unquestionably, this holds back the application of technical novelties in national economic sectors.

However difficult they may be, such problems must be resolved without delay. The engineering centers have already accomplished a great deal in accelerating the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology.



Their potential is such that they may become the key link in the system for mastering new equipment and technology in the basic areas of scientific and technical progress in the near future.

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## BAM -- THE SCALE OF THE ECONOMICS OF SOCIALISM

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[Article by Academician A. Aganbegyan, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council of Problems of the Baykal-Amur Mainline]

[Text] Slightly more than 10 years have passed since the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree on the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline. The most difficult and most crucial stage in the construction of the mainline has been completed: the "gold" coupling was achieved, and uninterrupted train traffic along the entire 3,100-kilometer-long BAM track, from Ust-Kut to Komsomolsk-na-Amure, began rolling 1 year ahead of schedule.

A proper appreciation of this accomplishment requires, above all, an idea of the area covered by the track. No railroad of such length has been laid anywhere in the world under such difficult conditions. The BAM track crossed uninhabited remote areas, most of them with below-freezing average annual temperatures, covered by hundreds of meters deep permafrost. The BAM was built during the long winter, when the cold reached temperatures of 50 and, in some sectors, even 60 degrees centigrade below zero, and in summer, when the taiga midges haunted the builders. The western section of the track was laid along the Baykal rift seismic risk zone. Hundreds of rivers lay on the path of the BAM, and a bridge, spillway or other type of man-made installation had to be built per average track kilometer. More than 50 bridges 100-meters long or longer had to be built along the BAM. The BAM ran through mountain ridges and the total length of its nine tunnels exceeds 30 kilometers. Furthermore, these tunnels had to be dug under particularly difficult rock and geological conditions. The construction of the BAM necessitated the removal of 570 million cubic meters of earth, a considerable percentage of which rocky, using explosives and powerful mining equipment. The motor vehicle track--the autoBAM--had to be laid along the track.

This is the first time that our country was faced with railroad construction on such a scale and extent. Although the BAM is half the length of the Trans-Siberian, the volume of earth that had to be removed was greater by a factor

of 2.5, triple the number of installations had to be built, and the longest tunnels in the country had to be drilled. First-rate single tracks with uparalleled handling capacity had to be laid.

The BAM was built by nearly 100,000 construction workers. They had to be deployed in uninhabited areas, provided with heat, food and everything necessary. Housing had to be built and conditions created not only for productive labor but for living and recreation. All of this was done.

The creation at the BAM of the most powerful collective of transport construction workers, a collective which strengthened and matured in the course of hard work, supplied with the best equipment, able to function under northern conditions, maneuverable and flexible and ready for new major projects and accomplishments, was as much an accomplishment as was the commissioning of the railroad. To a large extent the huge BAM construction collective had literally to be created from scratch. Such was the case, for instance, at the most difficult section in the construction of the BAM -- Northern Buryatiya. This is an low-access mountain-taiga territory, accessible in summer only from the northern end of Baykal, proceeding from there on all-terrain vehicles, on horseback or on foot, for there are no roads but hunter paths only. No single transport construction worker could be found in this area where some 500 kilometers of track had to be laid. Yet it was precisely there that the Baykal tunnel, more than 7 kilometers long, and four promontory tunnels had to be drilled and the Severo-Muyskiy tunnel, the longest in the country (15.3 kilometers) is currently under construction. Merely reaching the construction site of the Severo-Muyskiy tunnel was no simple task and it is not for nothing that the first four-wheel drive vehicle to reach Severo-Muysk has been permanently set there on a pedestal.

One third (in terms of volume) of all construction work related to building the mainline was in the Buryat section of the BAM. It was there that the 30,000-strong collective of construction workers took shape. Here more than 10,000 people were engaged in drilling the tunnels. The reason for which this powerful collective was created within such an unparalleled short time was that tens and hundreds of thousands of Soviet people answered the party's call of laying the mainline of the century in the virgin taiga, numerous Komsomol-youth detachments were formed and many cadre construction workers joined.

The BAM became a true testing ground for the formulation and practical application of advanced technical solutions. I shall give a single example related to bridge construction. Instead of labor-intensive monolythic foundations, in the course of which most of the work takes place at the bridge construction site, thus increasing construction time and requiring greater amounts of cement and other materials, prefabricated piles and tubular foundations were used. This doubled and tripled construction speed and the bridge builders did not have to delay the traffic of mechanized columns and construction and installation trains. Bridge construction costs dropped as well, for this solution alone saved more than 100 million rubles.

Each great construction project raises construction and development of uninhabited territories in our country to a higher level. I am referring to the lessons of Bratsk and the even more significant ones of the BAM. This applies to the organization of new collectives, the use of most advanced equipment in construction, making daring engineering decisions and extensively developing the socialist competition. It means the mass dissemination of the brigade work method, the skillful management of the thousand-kilometers construction project by Glavbamstroy [Main BAM Construction Administration] and the Ministry of Transport Construction, the coordinated work of railroad men and construction workers, and the guiding activities of party and soviet bodies in all areas traversed by the BAM.

The track has been laid along the entire length of the mainline. The road, however, is not completed. So far, more than 60 percent of the projected BAM funds have been spent. In order for the entire BAM to begin regular operations, extensive work remains to be done in laying sidings, building railroad stations, reinforcing roads and completing a variety of production projects required for operating the railroad. One of the difficult tasks is to complete the construction of the Severo-Muyskiy tunnel, where construction conditions proved to be much more difficult than estimated by the designers. In order to upgrade the reliability of this most difficult section of the BAM a deep by-pass of the Severo-Muyskiy tunnel will be built.

Unquestionably, the BAM will be commissioned for permanent operations during the 12th Five-year Plan, and an ever increasing flow of freight will surge along its tracks, for this, above all, is the main purpose of the BAM. Look at the map: Compared to the Transsib, freight hauling to South Yakutia, the northern parts of Amur Oblast and Khabarovsk Kray and Komsomolsk-na-Amure and its adjacent areas is 400-500 kilometers shorter via the BAM. Compared to hauling freight via the southern ports of Maritime Kray, the distance to Sakhalin, Kamchatka and Magadan Oblast and on by ship from Vanino Port is shortened by more than 1,000 kilometers.

The increasing integration among different economic areas on the basis of their all-union specialization and territorial division of labor is a characteristic trend in the development and location of our country's production forces. The development of the natural resources of Siberia and the Far East strengthens the transportation links between these areas and the Urals, the European part of the country, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, and increases interaction with Western and Eastern Siberia, Siberia and the Far East. The freight flow along the BAM will increase further and further.

Let us also emphasize that the BAM is a multipurpose road and its role will not be reduced to transportation only. The BAM has opened up a new vast area of the country with extremely rich natural resources. The territory directly adjacent to the railroad or what is known as the BAM zone totals nearly 1.5 million square kilometers, literally brimming with various types of fuel, mineral and timber resources. Reaching it from the Transsib side was hindered. The map shows mountain ridges running between the Transsib and the

BAM, making transportation from the south to the northern areas quite difficult, even by car. Individual areas in the BAM zone, where mineral resources are being developed, frequently had no year-round ties with other rayons, as was the case of Aldanskiy Rayon in South Yakutiya. Freight was hauled here with difficulty, on the Lena and the Aldan, and only during the fair season. The famous AYaM (Amur-Ayam Mainline) dirt track, 830-kilometers long, was built later. With the arrival of the BAM at Tynda and subsequently at Berkakit, the trucking distance was shortened by one half. In a few years, after the railroad to Berkakit has been extended to Tommot (a port on the Aldan River), this ore-mining and industrial area will be connected by rail to the rest of the country.

The development of the natural resources in the BAM zone is an important landmark in the implementation of the party's economic strategy of priority development of production forces in the eastern parts of the country. Let us recall the most noteworthy events in this movement to the east, such as the construction of the Ural-Kuznetsk Combine, which was the embodiment of Lenin's ideas. The result was the appearance of the Siberia-Kuzbass first industrial area, a new heavy industry base. Later on, in the 1950s, the organization of territorial-production complexes (TPK) was undertaken in the Angara-Yenisey region: the building of hydroelectric power plants was undertaken on the Angara and the Yenisey GRES and TETs were built on the basis of the existing coal base; industrial enterprises began to concentrate and deposits to be developed around powerful energy sources. This led to the appearance of the Irkutsk-Cheremkhovo, Central-Krasnoyarsk, and Bratsk-Ust-Ilim fuel and energy complexes, and the Sayansk TPK and Kansk-Achinsk ones, which are currently being developed.

The development of the West Siberian petroleum and gas complex, which was undertaken during the mid-1960s, was the third and most important event in the history of the development of production forces in the eastern part of the country. Today this area accounts for more than one-half of the entire natural gas produced in the country. It is the main fuel and energy base in the USSR and accounts for the entire increase in Soviet petroleum and gas production.

Finally, there is the BAM and the economic development of its zone. This is the fourth of the most important steps in the development of production forces in the eastern part of the country, made possible by the entire previous economic development of Siberia and the Far East. In the future the BAM will become the country's new industrial area. A powerful heavy industry center will be established here. This industrial area will consist of an interconnected chain of territorial-production complexes and industrial centers which will be established around the Baykal-Amur Mainline: the Verkhnelenskiy, Mama-Bodaybo and North Baykal territorial-production complexes, the Udokanskiy Industrial Center, the South Yakutian TPK, the Tynda and Zeya industrial centers, the Selemdzhinskiy TPK, the Urgal industrial center, the Komsomolsk TPK and the Sovetskaya Gavan industrial center.

Yet another aspect of the significance of the BAM should be particularly noted. The BAM is the support mainline in the development of new vast areas to its north. To this effect rail and motor vehicle roads will branch out from various points along its length, leading to the establishment of new industrial centers in the northern part of the country. It would be difficult at this point to anticipate the full long-term economic consequences of the construction of the BAM, although there is not even the slightest doubt that the mainline will play an exceptionally important role in the development of the northern areas.

Let us also emphasize the BAM's importance in the development of foreign economic relations. As a transportation mainline it will be used to haul export and import freight. Most important, at the same time, the development of the natural resources of the BAM zone will substantially increase our country's export potential. The development of logging areas in the zone and the expansion of timber processing enterprises will broaden our possibilities of exporting timber to the socialist countries in Southeast Asia and Japan.

In the future, the powerful economic potential which will be created will be used even more extensively in the development of foreign economic activities. Here the gates to the ocean will be not only the port of Vanino but also Vostochnyy at Nakhodka where, in particular, moorage has been built for the loading of Neryungri coal, wood chips and other timber products.

The economic development of the BAM zone was started during the 11th Five-Year Plan in accordance with the directives of the 26th party congress. Possibilities in this respect drastically increased after traffic along the entire length of the track became possible. With the participation of ministries, departments and scientific organizations, the USSR Gosplan formulated a comprehensive target program for the economic development of the BAM zone for the period until the year 2000. A great deal is scheduled to be accomplished during the 12th Five-Year Plan period.

The Bratsk-Ust-Ilim territorial-production complex will be the starting point in the economic development of BAM's entire western sector. The track linking the BAM with the Transsib allows freight to be switched from it to the BAM freely. In the future the territory of the Bratsk-Ust-Ilim TPK may be used in the construction of projects for the extensive processing of mineral raw materials extracted in an area of harsher natural and climatic conditions. Furthermore, it is precisely from the Bratsk-Ust-Ilim complex that the BAM may be extended in a westerly direction in the future.

The multisectorial Verkhnelenskiy territorial-production complex will be gradually developed north of Irkutsk Oblast. The areas along the upper Lena, gravitating toward the BAM zone are rich in high-grade coniferous timber. Few other areas in the country could rival it in this respect. Its Kirensk pine is particularly valuable. So far, logging and timber processing have been developed quite poorly here because of lack of regular transport facilities. The possibility now exists of laying a rail spur from the mainline to the



north, reaching the vast timber areas and the area of surface potassium salts, and the creation of timber processing enterprises along the BAM. In particular, a suggestion is being considered of developing the Kazachinskiy and Kiren LPK [lumber industry complexes], similar to the Ust-Ilim one. To achieve this, however, we must restrict from the very beginning the activities of the so-called self-procurers, who make incomplete use of logging, and spoil good timber areas, thus undermining the raw material base needed for the development of high-efficiency LPK.

It would be expedient to organize a potassium fertilizer and cooking salt industries on the basis of the potassium salts, which could be used by the Far East fishing industry as well. Siberian and Far Eastern agriculture needs approximately 2 million tons of potassium fertilizers annually, but receive small quantities due to transportation distances. Let us point out that the Nepskiy potassium salts are high-quality raw material for the production of potassium fertilizers, for they contain few admixtures.

The development of the petroleum and gas resources of the Nepsko-Botuobinskiy anticline of the Siberian platform, bordering the BAM zone to the north, is an even more important project. The use of the hydrocarbons of the Nepskiy anticline at the Verkhnelenskiy TPK will have a tremendous impact on the development of production forces in large areas in Eastern Siberia and the country's northeast.

Petroleum and natural gas extraction here will be highly efficient. The construction of a petroleum refinery in the city of Lensk, operating on locally extracted petroleum will make it possible to abandon the seasonal hauling of petroleum products along the Lena for the Yakut areas. Savings on transportation costs alone would amount to about 200 million rubles annually. Furthermore, we should take into consideration the possibility of ensuring the fuller and faster satisfaction of local requirements for petroleum products and their year-round rather than seasonal availability in Western Yakutiya. Most important, this will free substantial petroleum resources for use in other parts of the country.

It would be expedient to lay the gas pipeline carrying natural gas from the North Irkutsk and Yakut gas deposits through Bratsk to Angarsk and Irkutsk. The availability of natural gas in Angarsk will make it possible to conserve the more valuable petroleum, free more than 1 million tons of coal and develop gas chemistry. The use of natural gas in the industrial centers of Irkutsk Oblast will intensify industrial output and reduce air pollution in the industrial centers.

The Mama-Boday TPK, which is now in its second youth, will be extensively developed in connection with the construction of the BAM. The North Baykal TPK will be substantially developed in the future as well. Let us note here the Kholodnyy polymetal ore deposit, the development of which will ensure our country with a supply of lead and zinc for many years to come. Located here is the Molodezhnoye chrysotile-asbestos deposit, of unique quality, located in

the immediate vicinity of the railroad. The most promising, however, is the Synnyrskiy ore massif discovered here. Synnyrite, named after the site, contains oxides of potassium and aluminum in industrial concentrations, as well as many other useful components. The production of chlorine-free potassium could be organized here on the basis of the comprehensive treatment of synnyrite, both as high-grade fertilizer and alumina. Various technologies exist for processing synnyrite, including a low-waste technology which, in our view is quite efficient, suggested by Armenian Academy of Sciences Academician M. G. Manvelyan.

The site of the future Mokskaya hydroelectric power plant, with an estimated 2 million kilowatt capacity, is located several tens of kilometers south of the railroad, on the Vitim River. This GES will be built in favorable geological and economic conditions and the energy it will generate will meet the needs of the entire developing western section of the BAM zone. The spanning of the Angara at the Boguchanskaya GES site is planned for 1985, as a result of which the construction of that power plant will enter its decisive stage. Three to 4 years hence the turbines of the Boguchanskaya GES will be started up and the collective of hydroconstruction workers of BratskGESstroy will begin to be freed. In our view, it would be expedient to assign these construction workers to the Mokskaya GES.

The very large copper deposit north of Chita Oblast, the famous Udoka, is drawing close attention to the BAM zone. The importance of copper in the electrical engineering and many other industrial sectors is increasing, and the full satisfaction of the growing needs of the national economy for copper is a major problem. A 700-kilometer long winter road was laid from the Mogocha railroad station on the Trans-Siberian to the Chara settlement at the Udokan foothills in order to survey the deposit. Each ton of freight delivered here at the cost of incredible hardships took several months to reach the site, during only a limited number of months of the year, along frozen streams and across mountain passes. Today Chara is reachable by rail. The development of Udokan will enable us to resolve the copper ore problem for many years into the future. Furthermore, many other deposits of copper and other nonferrous metals and the Apsatskoye cokable coal deposits lie nearby. On a long-range basis, not simply the Udokan industrial center but the entire Udokan TPK could be developed on the basis of these and other nearby deposits. However, the conditions for the development of natural resources here are extremely difficult: permafrost, earthquakes, mountains and a harsh climate. The Udokan deposit itself is heterogenous, including different ores. This calls for serious experimental-industrial charting of the entire system of ore mining and concentration operations. Engineering work on the Udokan ore-mining and concentration combine is nearing completion, in accordance with the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress. In the 12th Five-Year plan, it would be desirable, in pursuing this course, to start preparatory operations for the development of the Udokan deposit, starting with laying a motor vehicle road and access roads, using the available Glavbamstroy personnel, and the construction of an experimental-industrial factory for the development of the necessary technology.

The South Yakutian TPK is the pearl of the BAM zone. Therefore, it was entirely natural for the economic development of the zone to begin here. For the past few years coal has been mined at the Neryungri open pit, next to it stands one of the largest coal concentration factory and three turbines of the Neryungrin GRES are already in operation. Whereas in 1976 the settlements under the jurisdiction of the Neryungrin City Soviet had a population of no more than 22,000, today it numbers more than 100,000, including 57,000 in the city of Neryungri. Here Yakutuglestroy and NeryungrigRESstroy have established powerful construction bases and more than 300 million rubles' worth of capital are invested annually.

Therefore, a firm foundation has been laid for the development of a multisectorial South Yakutian TPK. What is most needed now is a railroad from Berkakit on the north, across the entire South Yakutian TPK, ending at the port of Tommot, on the Aldan. The tracks will pass along the new coal deposits of the South Yakutian coal basin, near the Aldan high-grade iron ore deposits and the Seligdarskiy apatite deposits, not far from Aldan, the center of the South Yakutian mica industry, and will cut across the timber massifs by the Aldan River. The mere enumeration of these natural resources indicates the extent of the wealth of the South Yakutian land. The South Yakutian coal basin is special from the viewpoint that its virtually entire deposits consists of high-grade cokable coal, the thick seams of which are close to the surface. The large Yakutuglestroy construction organization, which was created here, can commission new coal enterprises quickly, such as the very big Denisovskaya and Chulmakanskaya mines. Initially, however, it is necessary maximally to expand the inexpensive coal strip mining. The extraction of high-grade oxidized coal at the Neryungri open pit could be increased to 2 million tons per year. The open pit mining of 2-3 million tons of cokable coal, which will require no transportation, could be organized at the coal seam outcroppings of the Denisovskaya and Chulmakanskaya mines. The expansion of strip mining will enable us to recover the cost of these mining enterprises faster.

The large Aldan iron ore deposits are located 150 kilometers north of Neryungri. Noteworthy among them is the Tayezhnoye deposit with a 1 billion ton reserve. Here open pit iron ore mining may be developed. Farther to the north, not far from Aldan city is the Seligdarskoye apatite deposit. This is a major raw material base for the production of phosphorus fertilizers, which are greatly needed by Siberian and Far Eastern agriculture. Here as well a large ore-mining and concentration combine may be opened for open pit mining of this valuable raw material.

The short distance separating iron ore from cokable coal in South Yakutia provides favorable conditions for the construction of a new Far Eastern metallurgical base. In addition to the Aldan iron ore deposits, the adjacent areas, several hundred kilometers away from Neryungri, include other ore deposits, noted among which is the Charo-Tokkinskaya iron ore deposit (100-200 kilometers north of the BAM) and the Garinskoye iron ore deposit in Amur

Oblast. The need for the creation of a Far Eastern metallurgical base in the foreseeable future is unquestionable. However, the question of its development requires further studies by specialized organizations: will it be a traditional type of full-cycle metallurgical combine, starting with blast furnace technology, or an electrometallurgical combine using new methods for direct iron recovery. The question of the location of this combine and its individual production facilities must be studied no less thoroughly.

In our view, South Yakutiya meets the necessary conditions for the large-scale development of electric power production. The necessary infrastructure, construction capacities and construction workers' settlements have been created and a substantial base has been laid for undertaking the construction of the second stage of the Neryungri GRES, the cost of which will be approximately one-third of the first. The GRES will use coal concentration waste, the so-called intermediate product. Furthermore, it will be able to burn the oxidized coal from the Neryungri open pit. The power plant will have a dependable fuel supply by increasing coal extraction from the South Yakutian basin. In our view, consequently, the construction of the second stage of the Neryungri GRES should be undertaken in the immediate future. This will enable us to create not only a powerful energy base for the development of the entire South Yakutian TPK but also to provide electric power to the adjacent areas. In the future this will become a good power base for the development of the Far Eastern metallurgical industry as well.

The development of the South Yakutian TPK and the extension of the railroad north of Berkakit will require a drastic increase in the volume of freight hauled on the Malyy BAM. Already now, as the capacities of the Neryungri open pit are being increased, with every passing year the volume of freight here has been increasing considerably. The single-track Bamovskaya-Tynda railroad which, furthermore, links the BAM with the Trans-Siberian Railroad, was not planned to handle such an increased freight flow. It would be expedient, therefore, to lay a second track in the immediate future.

The adjacent Amur Oblast territory is the vastest BAM zone. The Zeya Hydroelectric power station was built here and the powerful Bureya GES (2 million kilowatts installed capacity), the first turbine of which will be commissioned during the 12th Five-Year Plan, is under construction. We must already think of the construction of the next hydroelectric power station, in order to make efficient use of the ZeyaGESstroy construction collective and avoid repeating the story of the lapse in construction time and cost, which took place in the past in the building the Zeya and Bureya GES, as a result of which nearly half of the hydroelectric construction workers scattered among other construction projects.

A hydroelectric power station generating 600,000 kilowatts could be built on the Selemdzha River. It would not only supply power but will make it possible, combined with the Bureya and Zeya GES, to relieve once and for all Amur Oblast and, partially, Khabarovsk Kray from periodical flooding. In our view, therefore, we must as of now consider the redeployment of some of the

personnel of ZeyaGESstroy to the building of the Selemdzha hydroelectric power station. Gradually new industrial centers will be developed and various industrial enterprises will be built around these large power plants. It is thus that the Selemdzha TPK and the Zeya industrial center will gradually begin to take shape.

Tynda, the capital of the BAM, is developing as the most important transportation and industrial center of the entire BAM zone. The extension of the Bamovskaya-Tynda-Berkakit railroad to Tommota will enhance the role of this transport center even further. Considering its advantageous transport location, it would be expedient to expand Tynda's construction base and build a timber processing combine and machine building enterprises in the city.

Unfortunately, Amur Oblast has been studied extremely little from the geological point of view, although many interesting outcroppings of minerals may be found here. In particular, the Khani massif of apatite ores stretches northwest of Amur Oblast, along the BAM track, for 200 kilometers. It is possible that the survey of this massif will reveal the existence of deposits with relatively rich apatite ores, suitable for mining because of their direct vicinity to the railroad. We especially emphasize the need to develop the extraction of phosphorous raw materials in Siberia, for both Siberian and Far Eastern crop growing has special need for phosphorus, which speeds up the ripening of farm crops, contributes to their survival under extreme natural and weather conditions and increases yields. So far, no phosphorus fertilizers and being produced in Siberia and the Far East and agriculture in this vast area is receiving only one-third of the union-wide average amount of fertilizer.

Major changes in the development of the production forces are taking place in Khabarovsk Kray with the construction of the BAM. The possibility arises of quadrupling coal extraction in Urgal by completing the reconstruction of the Urgal mine and the building of a new open pit and a large new mine. The flow of freight, both coal and timber, from the Urgal area to the BAM and the Transsib will increase. It will become increasingly harder for the single-track Izvestkovaya-Urgal railroad, which links the BAM with the Transsib at this point, to cope with such increased freight volume. This line as well must be substantially strengthened and its handling capacity increased.

The Komsomolskiy TPK will be developed extensively. Here the Dalnevostochnyy Metallurgical Conversion Plant, the first unit of which should be commissioned by 1985, is being built rapidly. It will produce mostly grade metal for construction, thus greatly influencing construction industrialization throughout the entire Far East. The Komsomolskiy petroleum refinery is being expanded, the Komsomolskaya TETs-3 is under construction, a gas pipeline is being laid from northern Sakhalin to Komsomolsk-na-Amure and future plans call for organizing nitrogen fertilizer production facilities here, as natural gas deliveries increase, thus supplying nitrogen fertilizer to Far Eastern agriculture. The raw material opportunities for the development of a tin-extraction industry, concentrated near Komsomolsk-na-Amure, have increased. An



important step in this direction would be the establishment of a metallurgical plant in this area. Thus would make it possible to extract at least half as much useful components from the complex tin mines in the area. The entire Khabarovsk BAM zone is rich in timber and the creation of new forest industries and combines has been undertaken with the advent of the railroad.

Along with the construction of the BAM its "sea gates" have been expanded -- the ports of Vanino and Vostochnyy. The second stage of the Vanino-Kholmsk ferryboat is under construction at Vanino Port, as well as a high-efficiency track for the delivery of freight in railroad cars from the continent to Sakhalin and back; the volume of supplies from Vanino Port to Magadan Oblast and other northern areas is increasing. The development of Vanino Port has raised urgently the question of the reconstruction of the Komsomolsk-Vanino railroad, which was laid during the war. Its handling capacity must be enlarged. The BAM terminal at Sovetskaya Gavan is being developed as well. Here again, the Vanino-Sovetskaya Gavan railroad, which was built for temporary use, must be reconstructed on a priority basis.

Vostochnyy Port, which has specialized in export-import operations has long-range possibilities. In addition to equipment for processing various types of bulk freight, the port has a container terminal, which is an important feature in the system of fast deliveries of containerized goods from Japan and other countries in the southeastern Pacific to European countries via the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

As we can see, the prospects for the industrial development of the BAM zone to the west, the center and the east are tremendous. The large-scale development of the natural resources of the BAM zone will require above all intensifying preparations for the development of new territories. In this respect the geologists, who have quintupled their work in this zone, with the construction of the BAM, play the main role. The data we cited show that the BAM zone includes many fuel and mineral and raw material deposits. The task now is not only to identify new deposits but, above all, to prepare the already identified most effective of them for industrial exploitation, which requires their advanced detailed survey. Yet such work is being conducted at an insufficiently intensive pace in the case of petroleum deposits in Eastern Siberia and a number of nonferrous metal and apatite deposits.

The engineering organizations play a particularly important role in preparing the areas for development. Research and engineering operations are under way at many sites along the BAM. However, work standards are not always high. Sibgiproshakht made serious errors in designing the Neryungri coal open pit, which led to a considerable increase in the cost of the work. In our view, one-sided orientation toward purchasing extremely expensive foreign equipment was unjustified. In terms of quality, the Minsk 180-ton dump trucks which were supplied to the Neryungri open pit are equal to the American dump trucks at one-third of the latter's price. Reliance on the foreign-made Marion 20-cubic meter excavator was unjustified, for under northern conditions the Uralmash EKG-20 proved to be more practical.



What is particularly alarming is that, based on traditional development systems, a number of design organizations are submitting plans in which cost estimates have been sharply increased. For example, an effort was made to include in the design of the Denisovskaya Mine a separate boiler facility, although the nearby Neryungri GRES can provide heat; an additional lengthy railroad spur is unnecessary; there is no need for a separate settlement when the city of Neryungri is 10 kilometers away from the mine; a separate construction base was applied for, although the existing Yakutuglestroy base could be used, etc. All of this combined at least doubled the projected cost of the mine. In formulating the plan for the technical and economic development of the Tarynnakhskiy iron-ore deposit in Charo-Tokkinskiy Rayon, the Giproruda Institute estimated costs per cubic meter of stripping were triple the estimates in accountability data of open pits in the vicinity of the Polar Circle. Electric power outlays were estimated at 6 kopeks per kilowatt, whereas the cost of electric power generated at the Neryungri GRES, located nearby, is under 0.6 kopeks. Unfortunately, the design institutes bear neither economic nor any other type of responsibility for substandard designing. They indiscriminately apply the 2.98 cost-increase coefficient for the development of resources in South Yakutia, for example, whereas the coefficient applied to the development of Alaska is lower by one half. Motivating sectorial and design institutes to reduce the cost of projects and seeking the technically and organizationally most effective solutions is a major problem. So far they remain more interested in and motivated by departmental interests in increasing costs.

The production of special equipment consistent with the geological and the climatic conditions of the BAM zone is a major element in preparing the area for development. The region requires equipment suitable for work under northern conditions, highly efficient and requiring minimal operational labor outlays. Efficiency computations, however, are sometimes made as in the past, ignoring the additional costs of attracting a worker to work in the BAM area, amounting to roughly 20,000 additional rubles per year, compared to the inhabited areas in the moderate belt. That is why at stations and settlements along the BAM, one comes everywhere across coal-powered boiler rooms employing between 30 and 50 people, i.e., one-quarter or one-third of the entire station personnel. It would be suitable to use here electric boilers. This would provide huge savings in coal transportation and unloading and the creation of housing and living amenities for the huge number of stokers. The BAM zone needs particularly urgently powerful mining equipment, including equipment for permafrost work. Meanwhile, the T-330 bulldozers produced at the Cheboksary tractors plant are mostly idling because of unreliability, while blasting and other less productive technology must be used to break up the rock instead of inexpensive bulldozing. In our view, a customized regional scientific and technical policy must be applied in Siberian and northern areas.

The most important thing in the development of new territories is to create suitable conditions for attracting and retaining highly skilled cadres. A

great deal has been accomplished in this respect in the course of the construction of the BAM. No other railroad in the country is as well organized. Excellent railroad stations and good permanent settlements with all amenities have been built thanks to the sponsoring organizations. Special attention is being paid to environmental protection, the installation of modern treatment facilities in particular. The amazing Niya Gruzinskaya and Urgal settlements were built by Ukrainian construction workers. Alonka was built by the Moldavians, Postyshevo by people from Novosibirsk, etc. Tynda, the center, was transformed thanks to the efforts of Muscovites, and the comfortable homes in the residential districts of Severobaykalsk were the work of Leningrad construction workers. The list of such examples could be extended. The Georgian sponsors displayed a noble initiative: after completing the building of Niya, and therefore fulfilling their obligation, they moved on to the difficult Chitinskiy section and started building the Ikabya station from scratch. The Moldavians acted similarly: after completing the construction of their first settlement they moved to uninhabited areas and are currently building the Dugda settlement. This should become a mass movement, according to which, in undertaking the work along with the construction of the BAM, the sponsoring organizations would withdraw only after the mainline has begun regular operations.

The problems of the economic development of the BAM zone are more difficult to solve: there are no sponsors here and internal construction organization and construction bases must be created, which is much harder. An excellent example was set here by the Yakutuglestroy construction workers, who not only completed the open pit, the concentration factory and Neryungri city within a short time but also commissioned a first-rate comprehensive construction base and no longer import construction parts from other rayons. The development of the northern territories, including the BAM zone, is not an episode for our country but a permanent and natural project. It would be pertinent, therefore, to raise the question of establishing a special construction base for the development of new territories.

Special-purpose management plays a decisive role in the comprehensive economic development of the BAM zone. As a whole the fast and good-quality construction of the BAM was largely due to the fact that from the very beginning the construction was managed by a specially created governmental commission headed by a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In our view, it would be expedient to broaden the functions of this commission by assigning to it the coordination of the economic development of the BAM zone. Naturally, it would be expedient to include in the national economic plan a separate section on the development of this extremely large area.

The eastern areas are making an ever increasing contribution to our country's economic development. They account for more than half of the fuel, one-third of the timber and a considerable share of nonferrous metals and chemical and other output produced in the country. Today about one-third of the country's overall pace of economic and social development is determined by the production forces in Siberia and the Far East. The implementation of the

tremendous program for the development of natural resources--the BAM program--will unquestionably become a powerful booster of our societal socioeconomic progress.

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## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE YOUNG

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[Article by V. Mishin, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] "We are the party of the future and the future belongs to the youth. We are the party of innovators and young people always follow innovators more willingly." This Leninist formula, which was expressed even before the victory of the Great October Revolution, is so fundamental and profound that in the course of social progress it not only remains relevant but presents its creative potential in new ever more varied aspects.

In preparing for its 27th congress, our party made a responsible historical choice, codified in the resolutions of the April and October 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenums. A course toward the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, dynamic economic progress and conversion of the economy to the track of intensification, formulated with the spirit of innovation inherent in Lenin's party, will ensure reaching the highest world standard in labor productivity and, in the final account, a qualitatively new level in the status of Soviet society.

This course has been reflected in the new edition of the CPSU program, which will be presented for party-wide discussion, and in the draft Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000.

The party's policy is entirely consistent with the interests, expectations and feelings of all working people in the country. It is dictated by life itself. Soviet youth is accepting the new party's stipulations with particular interest and, I would say, with passion. This is no accident. The young are the most dynamic part of society. They like the daring, creativity, spirit of innovation, purposefulness and consistency with which the party undertakes to resolve topical domestic and international problems.

The pregress period is a time of daring decisions and active actions, when the results of accomplishments are summed up without beating about the bush or false idealizing, and existing shortcomings and errors are comprehensively analyzed. It is a time for identifying reserves and possibilities in everything: in material production, which is the base of our well-being and power, and in the spiritual area, where the new man is being molded.

As the party's aid and reserve, the Komsomol is assessing its contribution to nationwide labor accomplishments and the communist education of the youth from exacting party positions. Armed with the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the Party's Leadership of the Komsomol and Upgrading Its Role in the Communist Education of the Youth," it tries to structure its work in such a way as to be on the level of assignments and so that the party's concern for the young people can always be combined with pride in the next generation.

If we were to think about the essence of the current activities of the Komsomol and seek a brief answer to this question, the word we would be looking for would be "responsibility." This road concept combines many things. It means Komsomol responsibility for the implementation of the party's most important assignment, that of being the educator and organizer of the growing generation; it means the responsibility of the young for their actions and steps and for the continuation and development of the unfading traditions of the senior generations.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, spoke in a fatherly and wise fashion about our youth and its role in Soviet society at the meeting with veterans of the Stakhanov movement: "...If we speak in general, we can be satisfied with today's Soviet youth. Our boys and girls are the children and grandchildren of those who set unparalleled records during the years of industrialization, those who were the first to rise to the attack during the war years, those who blocked embrasures with their bodies and who rammed airplanes and tanks. These are the children and grandchildren of those who cultivated the virgin lands in the polar tundras and who extracted petroleum and natural gas in the Siberian taiga. These are our children and grandchildren, these are our fellow workers, who, today as well, are setting for the entire world the greatest possible examples of labor, service and loyalty to the fatherland. They are the ones who are building the BAM, who are erecting new cities, growing the grain and loyally serving in defending the borders of the homeland."

Children and grandchildren of the heroes of war and labor, comrades and communist fellow workers in the struggle for building a new society.... Such an assessment imposes a great obligation. It gives the Komsomol and young people constructive energy and optimism. It calls for reaching new heights in labor and, naturally, makes it incumbent upon the young to think again and again of their greatest responsibility to the party and the people.

Those who share this feeling irrepressively strive forward. They try to do more and better than in the past. They try to do this not for the sake of praise and rewards but because of most profound personal convictions and principles. Such is the Komsomol, educated by the party. By taking from the communists the ability critically to assess its achievements the youth union will realize that a great deal in its work can still not be considered satisfactory.

In addition to the outstanding and great accomplishments for which the Komsomol is famous, facts and phenomena unworthy of our time may still be encountered. In addition to the rich and active life led by millions of young

working people, there also exists the narrow world of those who do not burden themselves with socially useful work from their young years and to whom the moral values of our society have not become personal convictions. The material benefits and extensive opportunities which real socialism gives young people are interpreted by some young men and women as self-evident. Hence, their parasitical feelings and consumer mentality. However unpleasant the fact of the existence of such antisocial manifestations may be to us, ignoring them means giving birth to new shortcomings.

Despite their tremendous vital force and major educational impact, the socialist ideas and principles and the Soviet way of life cannot automatically influence the young people unless accompanied by purposeful educational efforts and a decisive struggle against anything which hinders our successful progress. It is particularly important for the Komsomol today to make the means and methods, the very style of our work strictly consistent with the requirements of life and with the tasks set by the party. The party justifiably points out to the Komsomol the fact that the new tasks cannot be resolved through "worn out" stereotyped means and methods and that it is necessary to study more profoundly the processes and phenomena taking place in youth circles, to react more quickly to new youth enthusiasms and to give them the necessary ideological direction.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on the Komsomol emphasizes that while paying attention to the broad measures the Komsomol organizations do not give second priority to daily affairs, for it is from such daily affairs that, in the final account, tangible results come about. This party stipulation is based on Lenin's behest to young people: link every single step of your learning, education, and upbringing to participation in the common struggle of all working people, resolving one problem or another of the common project, even if it is only the slightest and the simplest, every day, in every village and every town.

The broad youth masses approve the practice of formulating socially significant specific projects for each Komsomol organization. To the Komsomol organizations in the Ukraine, for example, this involved sponsoring the development of the coal and metallurgical and power industries. In Moscow it was capital construction and the reconstruction of the most important projects in the city; in Leningrad Oblast, participation in speeding up scientific and technical progress and the implementation of the "Intensification-90" territorial-sectorial program. The Komsomol organizations in a number of republics and oblasts are sponsoring economically weak farms and lagging livestock farms and directing to the countryside shock youth detachments.

However, this approach, which is based on unity in organizational and educational activities and which has a beneficial influence on developing in young people a responsible attitude toward labor and obligations, has by no means, unfortunately, been established everywhere. Some Komsomol committees rely on slogans, on the automatic effect of various appeals, instead of making a profound study of the reasons for poor work, determining who needs help and who should be taken to task. The lack of exigency and steady creative stress in Komsomol organizations or ability to complete each initiated project frequently result in labor passiveness, lack of discipline, dependency and unwillingness on the part of young men and women to work wherever society



demands it today. "Breakdowns" in educational work becomes even less tolerable than breakdowns in production, for a close and direct tie exists between them.

Practical experience indicates that labor upbringing yields results only if it helps the young people to realize the social significance of production activities, their political meaning and their moral value. It is no accident that the shaping of an honest and conscientious attitude toward labor is manifested in the moral categories of honor, goodness and conscience. That is precisely why the moral atmosphere in the collectives, the microclimate within which the young working person develops, plays such a substantial role in education.

Young people have a sharpened feeling of justice and intolerance of shortcomings. They are frequently quick tempered, and categorical in their assessments. As a rule, however, they are always sincere. Gaps between words and actions, which are still found in some economic managers and Komsomol officials harm their education in a way difficult to mend. Many good and proper statements are made and practical suggestions formulated at all passive meetings and planning sessions; meanwhile, valuable equipment keeps gathering rust in plant yards, exposed to snow and rain; hundreds and thousands of tons of coal, cement and chemical fertilizers are wasted because of carelessness in transportation, storage, and utilization. It also happens that raw materials, fuel and electric power, saved by the gram and the kilowatt by a machine tool, are lost with a single stroke of the pen of a careless administrator. We believe responsibility for negative educational consequences of irresponsible economic activities should be no lesser than for failure to meet plan indicators, for the corrosion of the moral foundations of workers, young workers in particular, turns, in the final account, to much greater losses than the production of faulty goods or material losses.

Educational work is frequently replaced with meaningless statements; in some cases the enthusiasm of young people is called upon only when it becomes necessary to repair the results of unskillful management. Young people are not short of creative enthusiasm or afraid of difficulties. It so happens, however, that young people are more able to withstand poor conditions than they are rudeness, callousness, and lack of elementary attention and prospects.

The need to improve the labor upbringing of the growing generation is triggered not only by the fact that some young men and women have still not realized the responsibility of their personal contribution to nationwide projects. Improving such work is a most urgent task, dictated by the need for achieving qualitative changes and shifts in our economy.

The application of automation based on microelectronics, flexible production facilities, robots and wasteless technologies, the establishment of general purpose processing centers, mastering nuclear synthesis, biotechnology and gene engineering and resolving other difficult and responsible scientific and technical problems to which the future of our industry is related requires a qualitatively new approach to educational tasks.

What to do to encourage young people to actively and comprehensively participation in the implementation of specific problems related to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress? What are the reasons for the fact that one quarter of all secondary school students are not interested in work creativity? Why is it that only 10 percent of the young workers are engaged in scientific and technical creativity? These and other problems related to the participation of young people in the struggle for scientific and technical progress profoundly affect Komsomol workers and activists, encouraging them to seek the most efficient ways and means for educational and organizational work. One of the specific results of such searches has been the idea of developing a uniform nationwide system for youth scientific and technical creativity. Its implementation will not only open additional possibilities for technical creativity by the young but also create the necessary conditions for directing the creative potential of young men and women to the solution of problems related to the acceleration of the socioeconomic progress of society.

Developing in the young people love for work, a feeling of responsibility for assignments and intolerance of negligence is possible only if young people become deeply aware of their role in labor and social life and in the life of every member of society, and of their place within the system of social production and economic relations. In this connection, the reform of general education and vocational schools, based on the party's decision, offers great possibilities to the Komsomol. The purpose of the reform is to improve the entire process of training the young generation for a life of work. Today every secondary school graduate must come out with his own labor experience. In trying to approach assignments not formally but meaningfully, and in order radically to improve the quality of secondary school training and upbringing, together with educators and production collectives the Komsomol committees are trying to combine even more firmly training with socially useful labor, to upgrade the educational influence of student production brigades and links, the efficiency of the summer "labor quarter" and the quality of student vocational training. In particular, a more initiative-minded and extensive use is being made of an efficient means of labor and economic upbringing, such as the all-union secondary school student campaign for economy and thrift, launched in accordance with the resolutions of the 19th Komsomol Congress.

The program for secondary school computerization, the implementation of which was extensively undertaken this very year by decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, has become an important stage in the reform. Its adoption was welcomed by the country's public and by our youth. The Komsomol committees are actively becoming involved in resolving problems related to teaching secondary school students the foundations of informatics and computer equipment.

However, life urgently requires a more efficient and better planned system in this work. We cannot be satisfied with taking efficient yet one-time steps. Komsomol sponsorship of schools must be comprehensive and permanent. The Komsomol Central Committee is directing the efforts of Komsomol committees toward facing the problems of the schools, so that every Komsomol worker and activist may develop personal responsibility for the quality of the studies and labor training of students and the state of affairs in the school Komsomol organization. It is only thus that we would be able successfully to implement

the party's requirement of persistently and consistently contributing to the implementation of the school reform in all of its main areas and raise to a qualitatively new level Komsomol work in the schools.

It is common knowledge that the family stands at the origins of the civic development of the individual. Together with the school it lays the foundations for the civic responsibility of young people to society, developing in them the ideological and moral qualities which make the Soviet character. It is no secret, however, that the microclimate in some families is imbued with a consumerist, a philistine mentality, which does not contribute to developing the shoots of a communist morality.

One of the major tasks of the Komsomol organizations is to strengthen the role of the family in communist upbringing. This problem is resolved along two lines. One of them is work with "experienced" parents, including those who have already committed educational errors; the other is upgrading the responsibility of young parents for the education of their children. Young family clubs have been set up in a number of republics and oblasts on Komsomol initiative, which are contributing to the development of family education standards in young spouses. Educators, members of Komsomol education detachments and personnel of medical and cultural-educational institutions are being recruited to work more actively with the parents. However, the Komsomol could do much more than that.

Unquestionably, pious wishes, instructions and lectures to young parents alone will not do. The young families frequently need specific help in improving their housing and living conditions, placing their children in preschool institutions and many others. The CPSU Central Committee and the government have approved and supported with specific resolution the Komsomol initiative to create youth housing complexes (MZhK) and cooperatives. Complexes which include housing for young families, children's preschool institutions and sociocultural projects are being designed and built currently in Sverdlovsk, Leningrad, Minsk, Novosibirsk, Rostov-na-Donu, Tyumen and more than 40 other cities in the country. Initial experience indicates that the MZhK are a new promising form of organization of youth life. They ensure the continuity of the educational process in the labor collective and in daily life and provide a favorable possibility of making the place of residence an active area for educational influence on different age groups of children and young people. Naturally, this is merely the beginning and the Komsomol initiative deserves the closest possible attention and support on the part of the local party, soviet, trade union and economic bodies.

One of the most important tasks of the Komsomol is to develop in Soviet youth a Marxist-Leninist outlook, high political standards and intolerance of even the slightest manifestations of an ideology and morality alien to our society.

The complex of measures implemented in this connection is aimed at developing political responsibility in boys and girls.

Higher education standards, level of information and general youth culture and the aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena formulate stricter requirements concerning the content of ideological and educational work and its organizational methods. The party teaches the

Komsomol not to be afraid of seeking and experimenting and to saturate with a new content proven forms of work, while decisively eliminating those which have lost their usefulness.

Many valuable and interesting features may be found in the activities of many Komsomol organizations. The Belorussian Komsomol committees, for example, are actively working on problems of shaping a new type of socioeconomic thinking in young working people. Experience in upgrading the efficiency of oral political agitation among young people working at all-union shock Komsomol projects, has been acquired in Krasnoyarsk Kray. The Komsomol organizations in Estonian agroindustrial associations have gained good practical experience in ideological and political work on the basis of comprehensive planning.

In accordance with the most important party requirements, the Komsomol is perfecting all forms of systematic exposure of young people to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist thinking. In particular, the current experiment in reorganizing the system of Komsomol political training of working youth is aimed at resolving this problem. Its purpose is to develop a model for structuring the Marxist-Leninist training of young people during the 12th 5-Year Plan, to ensure a greater link between theory and practice, to abandon work in multiple directions and admonitions, and to study materials which would not duplicate what has been learned in school, in a PTU [Vocational-Technical School] or VUZ but will ensure continuity in political education saturated with topical problems of domestic and international life. The higher level of information of boys and girls and their general education training and interests and the need to shift the center of all ideological and educational work directly to the primary labor collective or the brigade are taken more fully into consideration.

The creative search for new and efficient means and methods of political education is aimed at having unity between words and actions. Exigency and a critical spirit determine the style and content of activities of all Komsomol organizations.

Guided by party requirements, the Komsomol Central Committee takes practical steps to ensure that ideological and political upbringing, in all its forms, become maximally combined with the main task of today: accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. In this case, it is important also to upgrade the responsibility of all those whose duty it is to disseminate the party's word among the young. The work of the party committees on the periodical certification of Komsomol propagandists, lecturers and political reporters who speak on youth problems deserves comprehensive support and dissemination. Regular meetings of party, soviet and economic managers with young people and the publication of their articles in youth periodicals have a great educational impact.

Today the broadest possible opportunities exist for meeting the needs of the young people for political growth and political education. Unfortunately, however, not every young person tries to make use of them. Here again the main reason is the insufficient work done by the Komsomol which must develop in boys and girls from an early age a habit and taste for constant political self-education and the ability to convert Marxist-Leninist theory into a manual for practical activities.

Demands concerning the political responsibility of the young generation increase with the development and intensification of socialist democracy, reflecting the tasks which our country must implement by virtue of the contemporary international situation. One of the purposes of the political education work of Komsomol organizations is to help boys and girls to clarify this growing responsibility. The efficiency of this process largely depends on taking youth characteristics into consideration. The years spent in training and preparations for life and work must be saturated with romanticism with the heroics of our days and with serious work performed by shaping an awareness of lofty and realistic truths: the social cost of material goods enjoyed by young people; the intensive work of their elders to make possible the training, recreation, tourist voucher discounts and opportunity to acquire a profession. It is only the realization of such truths that could prepare the adolescent, the young person to face successfully joint work and the problems and difficulties which will frequently stand on the way of his accomplishments.

It may seem naive to assume that such a tremendous and most complex matter as building a new society could avoid problems and shortcomings. Nevertheless, this fact confuses some young people. Such cases must be noted, for people of little faith are, as rule, individuals who are socially passive and occasionally yield to foreign ideological influences. Without absolving them, we should mention omissions in the work of the Komsomol organizations, the school, the family and society. How frequently is the picture of our reality depicted in rosy colors in some collectives. As Comrade M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "A person who lives and works in a society with such tremendous social experience will not accept simplistic answers to questions; he will sensitively catch the falsehood triggered by inability or fear to bring to light the real contradiction within social development and the sources of problems which concern and excite the person. We must address the person only in the language of truth, which does not tolerate circuitous approaches, innuendos, and general and pompous statements. We must speak in all seriousness, equally avoiding feelings of fascination with success, glossing over omissions and relishing shortcomings."

Practical experience indicates that it is usually young people who have developed a light-hearted approach to life, who are not accustomed to the thought that life develops through contradictions and that happiness--individual and social--can be gained through hard and persistent work, that one must fight for it to the fullest extent of one's human possibilities and creative zeal, are the ones who take the wrong path. In order to develop in all young men and women the ability of understand the problems of real socialism and the correlation between ideal and reality we must explain to them more extensively Lenin's warning that they must not imagine socialism as something "like an angelic ideal, unrelated to the 'sinful' struggle for the current project and the daily topic." "Such a view," Lenin pointed out, "means converting socialism into a sugary statement, a sugary sentimentalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 53).

In demanding that the characteristic features of young people be taken more fully into consideration, the party points out that the generation now entering life has not experienced two world wars and is unacquainted face to



face with the class enemy. At the same time, it is the main target of imperialist ideological subversion and attempts to use the psychological mechanism of insinuating through disinformation lies, slanders and other dirty tricks. That is why the class tempering, the mastery of revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class, the development of a strong immunity against and intolerance of foreign views and mores and the ability to wage an aggressive struggle against them assume such major importance.

The entire system of ideological and political upbringing must become more oriented today toward developing in the young people hatred of imperialism, aimed at exposing the "window-dressing values" of exploiting society and its antihumane nature. Extensive opportunities to accomplish this appear in connection with the dissemination of the political results of the 12th World Youth and Student Festival, which was held in Moscow last summer. The Moscow festival, in which more than 20,000 delegates from 157 countries and West Berlin and members of 86 international and regional youth and student organizations participated, became an event of major international significance. It was not only a manifestation of the growing unity among progressive young people on earth in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress but it also convincingly proved the great danger of the nefarious influence on youth of imperialist propaganda as a serious and treacherous ideological opponent.

The Leninist Komsomol and the Soviet youth organizations are doing extensive work to strengthen the political results of the festival, making broad use of the experience acquired in the course of its preparations and holding and of cooperation with youth organizations with different political orientations. A great deal is being done also to make all Soviet young people aware of the combative atmosphere of the festival and its appeals. The dissemination of the political results of the festival, for which the Komsomol is relying on the interested participation of mass information media, propagandists, lecturers, agitators and all educators of young people must develop in boys and girls an active civic stance and political vigilance and expose them to the problems which affect today all progressive mankind.

Unquestionably, the school and labor collectives play a decisive role in ideological education work with youth. However, efforts in this area may turn out "unprofitable" unless supported by similar efforts in the area of recreation. It is precisely in that area that the most concentrated pressure exerted by the ideological enemy is felt, achieved by promoting petty models of bourgeois "mass culture," and alien standards of behavior and a philistine consumer mentality.

This makes it incumbent upon the Komsomol to deal much more tangibly with the organization of the leisure time of young people and to create and strengthen a meaningful recreation industry, particularly in the young cities, and to pay close attention to the new and not always innocuous enthusiasms in youth circles and informal associations outside the range of social influence.

Experience in the preparations for and holding of the 12th world festival and the all-union Soviet youth festival which preceded it, proved that the Komsomol can and must use more profitably its available material facilities for recreation and cooperate more energetically with the interested



organizations, not fearing to assume a coordinating role and responsibility for collective forms of recreation of young people. Involving boys and girls in turning uninhabited premises into youth clubs, coffee shops and sports premises offers truly inexhaustible possibilities.

The uncompromising struggle against drunkenness in young people is an object of particular Komsomol concern. Life convincingly proves that today we must not limit ourselves to traditional educational and preventive measures in uprooting this antisocial phenomenon. Active and aggressive action is needed. Noteworthy in this respect is the approach taken by the Komsomol organizations in Divnogorsk and Strezhevoy, who have proclaimed as areas of sobriety their young Siberian cities and have developed efficient measures for improving the way of life of adolescents and organizing their meaningful recreation. Nevertheless, we must self-critically admit that a similar approach has been established by no means everywhere. In some Komsomol organizations virtually no action has taken place after tempestuous arguments and heated assertions about putting an end to drunkenness. The Komsomol Central Committee assesses such cases on a principle-minded basis and believes that the Komsomol does not approve of those whose lack of initiative encourages drunkenness, not to mention who themselves do not set the example of sobriety to young people. It is the Komsomol's personal matter and direct obligation to give a socialist content to the leisure time of the growing generation and promote conscious constructive activities. We are confident that the local party and soviet bodies will actively support our initiative in the implementation of a comprehensive target work program with young people, children and adolescents at home. The implementation of this program would require no particular material outlays. Its purpose is to rally the efforts of all social institutions in this responsible sector of communist upbringing.

We have extensive opportunities to improve the education of young people through art. Unfortunately, art, music in particular, is sometimes used as a means of propaganda of alien views and feelings.

Educators, personnel of cultural institutions and Komsomol activists claim that modern young people cannot be attracted by good music. This is inconsistent with reality. Such views are occasionally used to conceal an inactive behavior.

The opposite of this claim could be easily seen during the 12th world festival in Moscow: our young people are attracted precisely by good music, by musical classics and by folk music. More than 50 foreign rock groups from 18 different countries performed at the festival, including universally famous Western "stars." There were those who thought that a real boom would develop in Moscow. However, nothing sensational happened. Our young people welcomed the performances of these "stars" with a great deal of restraint. The halls were half filled. Meanwhile, concerts of classical music and folklore performances were crowded.

The only possible conclusion is that we must work more persistently on developing in young people high artistic standards and promote their interest in folk and classical art and use more frequently (as in the Baltic republics) mass youth celebrations of folk songs and dances. We should not allow any reduction in the number of circles and collectives of amateur performers.

Wind instrument orchestras must be restored. Beautiful folk and classical music, which is like the appeal of one heart to another, will help us to raise the young people as great appreciators and creators of beauty.

Nor should the Komsomol ignore problems of theaters for children and adolescents. Today such theaters exist everywhere. However, their repertory is meager and few of their performances reflect the heroics of building communism and the daring and courageous characters of our contemporaries or deal with topical problems of today's schools and PTU and the development of youth characters. We believe that our creative associations and artistic intelligentsia must define more specifically their place in resolving topical problems of the upbringing of our young people and the implementation of the school reform.

The Leninist Komsomol alumni practice thousands of different professions. One of them, however, is shared by the young metalurgical workers in Magnitka, the miners in Donetsk, the builders of the BAM, the petroleum workers in Tyumen, the grain growers in Kazakhstan and the young scientists, students, educators and all young patriots in the country: defender of the homeland. The communist party and the Soviet homeland highly rate the military work of the defenders of the gains of the October Revolution. This was confirmed by awarding the Order of the Red Banner to the Komsomol organizations in the Soviet army and navy. Under party leadership, the Komsomol promotes in the Soviet young people responsibility for strengthening the defense power of the country and actively participates in developing in the youth's readiness for exploits and respect for the Soviet soldier, courageous patriot and internationalist, ready to surmount any difficulties.

While supporting with all their heart the peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State and the new peace initiatives formulated by M.S. Gorbachev, the Komsomols and the young people do not forget Lenin's instructions of tirelessly preparing themselves to defend the socialist fatherland. Together with the schools, DOSAAF and the other public organizations, the Komsomol pays serious attention to the moral-political, psychological and military-technical training of young people for army and navy service, extensively familiarizing them with the heroic traditions of the Soviet armed forces, Soviet military life and combat equipment and weaponry, and organizes mass military-patriotic projects.

The young people become aware of their inseparable ties with the biography of their fatherland at school, in history class. This understanding is intensified during the all-union Komsomol and youth trips to areas of revolutionary-combat and labor glory of the Soviet people, "My Homeland--The USSR" expeditions and the creation of a truly nationwide chronicle of the Great Patriotic War. Meetings with war veterans, collection of relics of the people's exploit and concern for veterans and the families of those who died in the war are an organic part of the daily life of Komsomol organizations and Pioneer units. Thousands of boys and girls daily stand guard at the eternal flame and monuments to the fallen. The priceless experience of heroic-patriotic work gained during the preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory must be comprehensively strengthened. The need to disseminate "in width and in depth elements of military affairs among the masses" (Lenin) must not be forgotten for a single day or a single hour.

The Komsomol will continue persistently to develop in boys and girls love for our multinational homeland and see to it that educated, physically strong people, politically and morally ready for military service and exploits for socialism and peace stand under the battle flags of the armed forces. We must firmly get rid of the touch of pacifistic moods among some young people, triggered by their underestimating of the real danger brought about by the militarization of imperialism and of an underdeveloped feeling of responsibility and duty to the homeland.

The more active involvement of reserve officers and soldiers in work with young people, particularly those who have honorably fulfilled their patriotic and international duty, is a major reserve for heroic-patriotic upbringing. We believe it expedient to broaden the network of Suvorov and Nakhimov schools, and courses for young flyers, seamen, border troops and other military-patriotic youth organizations sponsored by military units and schools.

Soviet youth have inherited from the members of the senior generations, who defended the world from the brown plague of Hitlerite fascism, responsibility for the fate of the planet and human civilization. They unreservedly support the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The Komsomols, the Soviet young people well realize that the struggle for peace and against the threat of war is a matter not only for politicians and diplomats but for all people of good will.

The increased role of the Komsomol in Soviet social life and in the communist upbringing of young people is inseparably related to intensifying the combativeness of each Komsomol cell, the vanguard role of the youth union in labor and socially usefull accomplishments of the young generation, further improvements in the style, means and methods of intra-union activities and upgrading the responsibility of Komsomol cadres and aktivs in implementing the party instruction: training worthy perpetuators of Lenin's cause.

The Leninist Komsomol--the mass sociopolitical organization of Soviet youth--enjoys high prestige. Every year nearly 4 million boys and girls join its ranks. It is with the Komsomol that they link the implementation of their ideals in life and their active participation in the common struggle for the triumph of communism. However, encountering at an early age formalism and indifference, some youths loose interest in social work. The primary tasks of each Komsomol organization is to prevent the spark of youth activities to be extinguished. In order to resolve it successfully, mere struggle against formalism is not enough. This evil must be defeated once and for all.

The criticism of the style, forms and methods of work of Komsomol organization, voiced in recent party documents, is strict but just. It is having a mobilizing influence on the Komsomol, upgrading the exigency of Komsomol cadres and aktivs, above all toward themselves and the activities of their organizations, teaching them how to work like Lenin, efficiently, creatively and without meaningless logomachy. The essence of the party's demands of the Komsomol under contemporary conditions is to take steps not aimed at creating an impression or ostentatious reviews and competitions but

daily live organizational work among the youth masses. The style, means and methods of Komsomol activities are being restructured accordingly.

The Komsomol Central Committee Buro recently considered the topic "On the Work Style of the Kuybyshev Komsomol Obkom." A creative and planned approach to the work has helped it to eliminate the ivory tower approach and the fuss of unnecessary meetings. In 2 years the number of various formal "measures" and reviews has been reduced by two-thirds and the number of decrees issued to Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms has declined by one half. The obkom is improving its information work. It no longer judges the life of Komsomol organizations on the basis of information reports (the length of out-of-town assignments of its personnel has nearly doubled); it encourages the Komsomol leadership to spend most of its working time in the primary organizations, worker and student hostels and places of youth mass recreation and Pioneer collective recreation methods. The same is being done currently in many other Komsomol organizations. We try to turn this into an irreversible process and that all party stipulations are converted by the Komsomol into specific practical accomplishments.

"The young member of developed socialist society," the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Komsomol points out, "must possess high ideological and moral qualities, communist convictions, social activeness, industriousness, self-discipline, responsibility for common projects, high standards and a noble attitude toward the family, the collective and society, a respectful attitude toward the law and ability to surmount arising difficulties above all."

Learning communism in a Leninist fashion and selflessly struggling for the party cause are the most important tasks of the Komsomol and Soviet youth; nothing is or could be more sacred and precious. Lenin advised the Komsomols to ask themselves more frequently: "Have we done everything possible to become united and conscious working people?" In advancing toward the 27th CPSU Congress, every one of the 42 million Komsomol members must answer this question through daily accomplishments and model fulfillment of duty to the party and the people, meeting the highest standards of civic and Komsomol conscience.

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## UNDER THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM

### AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY, FOR COMMON IDEALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85) pp 57-67

[Text] The peoples of the countries enslaved by Nazism made a great contribution to the great victory over German fascism, the 40th anniversary of which is extensively marked this year throughout the world. The Yugoslav people's liberation army waged a dedicated struggle against the aggressors. The Polish and Czechoslovak armies courageously fought alongside the Red Army. The activities of patriots in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia, and the participants in the resistance movement in other countries, including Germany itself, will remain inscribed forever in the chronicles of the antifascist struggle.

Following are the recollections of some participants in that struggle. The story of the Yugoslav partisan was published in a previous issue (see KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1985).

In the Partisan Detachment, by Kiril Gramenov

Kiril Gramenov is a major general in the Bulgarian People's Army and one of the noted leaders of the Bulgarian partisan movement in World War II. He was born in 1921. In 1937 he joined the Workers Youth Union; he became a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1942. He was secretary of the clandestine oblast committee of the Workers Youth Union and one of the commanders of the Nikola Kalupchiev Partisan Detachment. After the 9 September 1944 victory, he was assigned by the party to work in the army, initially as deputy battalion commander for political affairs and, subsequently, regimental commander.

In 1947 K. Gramenov enrolled at the Military Academy imeni M. V. Frunze in Moscow. Subsequently he became deputy chief of the Military Political Academy in Sofia and is presently working at the Bulgarian Ministry of National Defense.

K. Gramenov's recollections were recorded by Petur Dzhodzhov, contributor to NOVO VREME, the BCP Central Committee Journal.

On 22 June 1941, when fascist Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union our Worker (Communist) Party turned to the people with an appeal in which it condemned the fascist barbarians and called upon the Bulgarian people to struggle against the Hitlerites and the monarcho-fascist clique. Two days later, on 24 June, the BCP Central Committee Politburo decided on a course of armed struggle.

Responding to the party's call, the first partisans took to the mountains with their weapons. These were the most dedicated and loyal sons of the party and the people, who had voluntarily chosen the difficult task of struggle.

It was hard, very hard. That is why it was above all communists and members of the RMS--the Bulgarian Komsomols--who were the first courageously to take to the partisan paths in the struggle against fascism. As early as 27 June 1941, no more than a week after Hitlerite Germany attacked the land of the Soviets, a shot fired by a partisan in the area of the Rila and Pirin mountains, in southwestern Bulgaria, proclaimed the birth of the first partisan detachment on Bulgarian soil.

Like the other first partisan detachments in Bulgaria, our detachment had to surmount major difficulties. We were short of combat and party experience. Reorganization was hard, from a peaceful life to a partisan struggle. Many of our comrades perished at the very onset as a result of inexperience. We had to learn, gain experience, develop a network of safe houses and bases and engage in party political work under the new circumstances in the course of the struggle.

At the same time, combat groups began to operate in towns and villages, dealing tangible blows at the enemy and engaging in major sabotage and subversion activities.

The entire people were on the side of the partisans in the struggle which developed. This was one of the reasons for the fact that the monarcho-fascist government did not dare to send a single Bulgarian soldier to the eastern front. The scope of the partisan movement in our country can be judged by my native Pirin area. Whereas two partisan groups were operating here in 1941, led by Nikola Parapunov, the loyal son of the party and the people, by 1944 5 partisan detachments operated in this zone. Our own Nikola Kalupchiev partisan detachment from Gorna Dzhumaya (Blagoevgrad) consisted of no more than 7 or 8 people at the start. By 1944 it already numbered more than 150. The strength of the other detachments as well increased manyfold.

Fierce battles raged in various parts of the country. The Rila-Pirin detachment became famous in the battles along the Rilska River and, particularly, at Zhabokryak. The following partisan brigades went to battle: the Georgi Dimitrov first and second people's liberation brigades, the Khristo Botev soldiers' battalion and others. Eventually the struggle approached its victorious end and the Red Army was advancing toward our borders.

Some may think that we were separated from the people and from the events taking place in the country, not to mention events on the eastern front, from



which thousands of kilometers separated us, because we were operating high up in the mountains in thick impassable forests.

This was not so. Not only we, the partisans, but the entire Bulgarian people followed with unabated attention the events developing on the eastern front, taking them close to their hearts, living with them. This was explained above all by the fact that our people warmly loved the fraternal Russian people who had frequently helped them during difficult times. And even more so now, when the fate of our entire country depended on the outcome of the great battle waged by the Soviet people against Hitlerite fascism. As far as we, partisans, were concerned, although we were thousands of kilometers distant from the eastern front and although the partisan groups numbered no more than two or three people, we considered ourselves part of the Red Army. We reacted with pain to each one of its losses but even the slightest news of successes achieved by the Red Army strengthened our faith in the final victory even further.

We intensified our strikes at the enemy, thus making our modest contribution to the common struggle. How did news from the front reach us? I remember the following case. For almost 2 years the detachment had no radio receiver. At that time there were few radio sets owned by the population as well. The people were poor. On the dark night of 7 February 1943 the commissar and I went down from the mountain to our loyal assistant Petur Mezhdurechki. We walked in deep snow which had nearly covered his small hut. The moment we entered Petur jumped and joyfully shouted "Do you know what happened? Do you know what happened?!" We exchanged a look of surprise. We asked: "What happened, Petur?" "The fascists at Stalingrad..." The old man was short of breath from emotion. Our nerves were stressed to the breaking point. "All fascists at Stalingrad have been routed!" he finally said, and started clapping his hands. "How so? All fascists routed?" we asked again, not trusting our ears. "Just so...all...all... A state of mourning has been declared in our city. The people have been forbidden to laugh or rejoice..."

This outstanding piece of news increased our strength tenfold. That night Soviet songs echoed in our partisan hut for a long time. Although the snowstorm raged like predatory wolves over the roof, our hearts were warm as though true spring had come.

The most loyal comrades dedicated to the party and the people, people with high political consciousness and moral firmness, joined the partisan detachments. That is why relations among partisans were based on the readiness for any kind of sacrifice. Strong friendship and comradeship bound all members of the detachment.

I remember that in December 1942 two of our partisans were surrounded in a hut at the Pridimir site in the Rila Mountains. Although the hut was surrounded, the fascist police and the tsarist forces were not precisely familiar with its location. Our efforts to reach the comrades and to save them were unsuccessful. Certain death awaited the new and inexperienced partisans. That night our commander, the fearless Arso Pandurski, returned to the detachment. Informed of the event, he took with him one partisan and .pa

immediately set off. Risking their lives, they breached the enemy encirclement and led the comrades threatened by mortal danger out.

In the spring of 1944 Dzhuro, a partisan of Serb nationality, was severely wounded. The situation was such that all of us had to leave the area while Dzhuro had to remain until his recovery. The partisan Marko volunteered to take care of him. Somebody, however, betrayed them. Police surrounded the little hut where they were hiding and a shootout began. The partisans fought to their last bullet and died as heroes. Hundreds and thousands of partisans showed their readiness for self-sacrifice in the armed struggle waged by the people against fascism and capitalism, something which immeasurably increased the strength of our movement.

In 1944 the Bulgarian people welcomed the Soviet troops the way our grandfathers had welcomed the Russian soldiers during the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish yoke.

The Red Army did not engage in combat operations in Bulgaria, in the military sense of the term. If one could say so, this was the only Red Army operation which was not carried out. The Soviet troops marched along Bulgarian roads covered with flowers. The happiness of our people was endless. Heading the rejoicing people were its loyal sons and daughters--the partisans who had come down from the mountains.

The Soviet forces did not come to my native Pirin area. There was probably no military need to do this. Our detachment, however, like the entire Bulgarian people, joyfully welcomed the Red Army men who had burst out of the Hitlerite concentration camps during the entire war to continue the struggle against fascism. One of them was Vanyusha Valchuk, a Komsomol member, commander of an antitank battery, from Zhitomir Oblast. At Stalingrad, he lost conscience when a heavy shell exploded nearby and was captured. On his way to Germany he was able to escape in Gorna Dzhumaya (Blagoevgrad), which was a small Bulgarian city. He was able to reach the partisan detachment with the help of the RMS. Vanyusha was an outstanding person. All of us loved him warmly. He brought in a new spirit in the detachment's life. It was already the autumn of 1943 and the leaves in the forest had turned yellow but it was as though spring had come to the detachment with Vanyusha. He was also loved by the poor peasants in the mountain villages. They breathlessly listened to his stories about the land of the soviets. The rumor spread among the people that an entire Soviet unit had joined the partisan detachment. Vanyusha took part in all of the detachment's particularly important operations until the end of 1943. Like a true member of the Komsomol and Soviet soldier, he firmly withstood all the hardships of the difficult partisan life. He died together with the detachment commander in a fierce battle against the fascists in the vicinity of Lisiya village. A monument white like a swan stands in honor of the heroes on that site. Among the names of the heroes who have fallen, inscribed on the monument, is that of Vanyusha Valchuk, the great Soviet soldier, Komsomol member and courageous Bulgarian partisan.

With Faith and Conviction, by Laszlo Feldes

Laszlo Feldes has been a communist since 1937. In World War II he was organizer and head of the partisan detachment in Ujpest, a worker district in Budapest. After the liberation of Hungary he actively participated in the nationalization project, graduated from the higher party school and a technicum, worked for the party's Central Committee and was party committee secretary at the Danube Metalurgical Combine, the first Hungarian-Soviet friendship construction project, and then at Krasnyy Chepel. In 1956 he became first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. He recently retired from the position of general director of the Hungexpo Foreign Trade Enterprise.

On the request of KOMMUNIST editors, Laszlo Feldes's story was recorded by V. Gerasimov, PRAVDA correspondent in Hungary.

Today, when I think of the past and what the Hungarian communists experienced, those who worked with all their strength to advance the day of liberation and who displayed boundless faith in the victory of the country of the October Revolution over fascism and the triumph of our just cause, which went on even after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and during the dark times of Horthyism, I recall first of all my first instructor Karoj Recza. It was this worker from Ujpest who developed my communist convictions. During the most difficult days of the autumn of 1941, when the Red Army had retreated toward Moscow and fascist propaganda enthusiastically trumpeted that Hitler would soon hold a parade on Red Square, he led me to a map and simply said: "Yes, they have gone deep inside but look, Laszi, how much is left! The Soviet people are invincible!" The Horthy police dealt with him cruelly. They caught him in a safe house and threw him out of the fifth floor window, staging a suicide. But how could one destroy an idea, our faith and the high spirit of our struggle.

The first time I participated in a strike and saw what worker solidarity means was in 1935, as an apprentice carpenter at a furniture factory in Ujpest. Comrades let me read the book "Mother," by Gorkiy. Part of my wages went to the "Red Help," money collected for families of jailed communists and social democrats. I then began to tour other factories and plants to collect funds for this purpose. This was my first party assignment. Misleading policemen and detectives, on 7 November the communists organized a celebration, where I heard speeches about Lenin and the first socialist country. We disseminated leaflets, explained the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and engaged in antifascist work using Comintern documents.

We could see that the war was drawing closer. We also knew that the Horthy clique would not stand aside. At that point, we, communists, made the following decision: "If drafted, to surrender during the first battle and switch to the side of the Red Army."

Naturally, during the first days of the war, frenzied chauvinistic propaganda could not fail to influence the moods of the masses. Working among them was difficult. After the fascist defeat at Moscow, however, when the press suddenly became silent, we spread the truth which sobered up many people, after listening to the Kosut radio station broadcasting from the Soviet capital. The mood began to change in the spring of 1942 and we started preparing an antiwar demonstration for 15 March, the day we celebrate the 1848 revolution, when people traditionally gather at the Petyofi monument. The police got wind of the event and banned it. Nevertheless, thousands of people came. The demonstration took place under the party's slogans of "Down With the War!," "Down With Hitler!," and "Long Live Independent, Free and Democratic Hungary!" The police and the detectives were unable to do anything. During the following days, however, nearly 700 people were arrested and the party found itself virtually beheaded. The antiwar movement fell into a difficult situation. This was the first time that I had been jailed. However, the police had no substantial evidence of any kind. Six months later I was released and warned: "Boy, let us not catch you again." I was kept under police supervision.

My faith in the victory of the ideas for which the communists fought strengthened in jail. I could hear how Ferenc Rozs, secretary of the clandestine Communist Party of Hungary Central Committee and editor in chief of the clandestine newspaper SZABAD NEP, was being tortured. He kept repeating on and on: "Forward, under the red banner!" He would then black out. Cold water would be poured on him and he would be tortured again. However, he did not surrender: "Forward, under the red banner!"

One of SZABAD NEP permanent slogans was "No Single Hungarian Soldier for Hitler!" When I received my draft notice I ran away, hid and, with the help of comrades, obtained false papers. I switched entirely to clandestine work and to organizing resistance detachments. We welcomed with tremendous joy the announcement reported by the Kosut radio station on the victory of the Soviet forces at Stalingrad! We quickly disseminated the news with leaflets. This inspired all patriots. The Horthyists tried to conceal the defeat of Hungarian units at Voronezh. For a while they did not even let the wounded go home. All of these events had a sobering influence. We intensified sabotage work at enterprises and hid army deserters.

wife. Precisely 15 minutes later the police arrived and, as I was taken across the yard, tried to escape. I was wounded in the hand. I was put in a car. Some 2,000 people had been detained, not only workers but employees as well (even members of Horthy's ministry of foreign affairs), writers, journalists and students. We were put in trains and were to be taken to a concentration camp. During the night, while it was raining, I broke the bars on the window of the railroad car and I and two comrades were able to escape. In Ujpest we organized a partisan detachment. The communist party slogan was "The National Resistance Must Become an Active Armed Liberation Struggle!"

Our detachment consisted of over 70 people. With the help of accomplices we obtained uniforms, weapons and documents from one of the local barracks. We operated like "patrols." We clashed with the Nilasi--Hungarian fascists who

had taken over from the Horthy clique. We cut off communications lines, carried out 53 acts of sabotage and blew up the fascists district club with 14 kilograms of explosives, which we had brought in pretending to be gold confiscated from the population. Twenty-eight Nilasi leaders and executioners died under the wreckage. Our comrade-in-arms Tibor Ban heroically died in this action. Today a street in Ujpest bears his name. We had four trucks, automatic weapons and machine guns, all of them captured during skirmishes.

As Soviet troops approached Budapest the German fascist gangs began to mine important projects. We were able to disarm a sapper subunit and forced it to remove the mines from the water pressure tower. We removed the explosives set at many other places, such as the post office, the water supply system and power generating facilities. It is true that we were unable to prevent the destruction of the railroad bridge. It was heavily guarded and we were forced to retreat. We were more successful in releasing 48 detainees, some of whom were our battle comrades.

Finally, the morning of 10 January 1945 came. The happy news spread: "Soviets!" This was the first time that I saw Soviet soldiers: they were marching along the main street in our district calmly, looking at the population which was welcoming them with some kind of special cordiality and benevolence. I remember a very young blonde boy in uniform, among the troops, no more than 13 or 14 years old. I subsequently learned that he was the "son of the regiment." I rushed to him and tried to hug and kiss him. However, he looked at me quite sternly and with a feeling of dignity: he was not a child, he was a fighting soldier.

The headquarters of our detachment was in the furniture factory where I had once apprenticed. The Soviet major, wearing a green band around his cap, who went there with an interpreter, was, much to our amazement, well acquainted with the activities of the Ujpest resistance group. He deemed it necessary that the group should be the first to organize peace-time life and to mobilize the population for repair work and for restoring the transportation system. In addition to everything else, we were amazed by the fact that the Soviet officer suggested that the churches reopen and the bells ring. It was those same bells that rang on 13 February, when the entire city of Budapest was liberated, and on 4 April, when the entire country was freed.

To us, veterans of the resistance, the celebration of victory day entails particular obligations: we must pass on to the young the baton of communist firmness, convictions, faith and internationalism. The young will continue the noble traditions of friendship with the Soviet people for the strengthening of which many of my comrades-in-arms sacrificed their lives. Victory day is to us, as in the past, in 1941, like a combat order: We must spare no efforts to ensure the triumph of our cause and daringly oppose the enemies of peace and always march side by side with the Soviet Union!

From the Oka to the Elbe, by Ceslav Beleevsky

Ceslav Beleevsky, colonel in the reserve, covered the battle road to Berlin as member of the T. Kosciuszko First Infantry Division. After the war he attended officer courses and

subsequently graduated from the Polish General Staff Academy. He served at the Polish Ministry of National Defense. He retired in 1971 and is active in the veterans' club of the T. Kosciuszko First Division. He is a member of the PZPR.

O. Losoto, PRAVDA correspondent in Poland, recorded his story.

For me the war began in the spring of 1943, when the raising of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko First Infantry Division, which laid the beginning of the Polish Army, was undertaken in Seltse near Ryazan. On arrival, I saw Polish flags and uniforms and heard Polish speech. Essentially, this was a bit of Polish soil.

I was initially sent to noncommissioned officers' school and then to officer training school in Ryazan. While the training was going on, the division had already reached the front. I caught up with it in the Smolensk area. Then there were battles in the Ukraine, at Zhitomir and Lutsk. In July 1944, together with the Soviet forces, we crossed the Bug and undertook to liberate our native land of Poland. Our road led through Chelm and Lublin, the cities where the first chapters of the new history of reborn people's Poland were being written.

After the liberation of Warsaw, together with the Soviet troops our division marched west, through Bydgoszcz and Szczecin. We had to cross the Oder....

Victory in the war came in the spring of 1945. Today we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism, in which the victorious Soviet army made a decisive contribution. This is a great common holiday for the Soviet and Polish peoples.

In Poland we are also celebrating another event important to us. The old western Polish lands were liberated in the spring of 1945 and last spring we celebrated 40 years of their reunification with the homeland.

On the anniversary of the victory, thinking of our combat road and the friends and comrades who died along it, one unwittingly tries to recall where one was during those memorable spring days of 1945.

At that time I was already chief of staff of the first battalion of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Division, First Polish Army. On the morning of 30 April, battalion commander Captain Pinkowski, returned from regimental headquarters and, coming in, excitedly, said:

"Chief of staff! We are being sent to Berlin! We will participate in the storming of the fascist capital!"

That same evening we were in one of Berlin's districts where Soviet officers were awaiting us. We learned from them that we were to interact with a tank battalion.



In the blue-grey dawn the next morning we saw ahead of us the buildings of the Berlin Politechnical Institute, which was the target of our attack. Here the fascists had established a powerful defense center which could not be secretly bypassed. During the day, on three occasions the battalion rose to the attack and three times the attack bogged down. We decided to attack during the night. Before that, however, we received reinforcements. The night storming was successful, although we had to fight for each floor and room. We were able to capture the building entirely only by 7 a.m. We advanced further, crossing a big park. Suddenly, we heard ahead of us some noise and a burst of machine gun fire. It turned out that Soviet soldiers had come to welcome us. A lieutenant ran up to me, hugged me joyfully, gave me something, saying:

"Here is a souvenir, friend!"

I looked. It was a Walther pistol. I had nothing handy and I took off my field pouch.

"And this is for you, to remember."

We soon learned that Berlin had surrendered unconditionally! White kerchiefs were hanging from the windows of the still standing buildings on the streets of Berlin. I shall never forget this white color in defeated Berlin. How precious it was to the soldier's heart!

A new order was received: to keep moving to the west along with the Soviet units. We were moving behind our divisions which were fighting somewhere at the Elbe. Unexpectedly, we were ordered to go east. We passed by Oranienburg and stopped in a forest. It was precisely there, I recall, that the news reached us: a Wehrmacht delegation had arrived in Berlin to sign the surrender document.

Although we were expecting the war to come to an end any day, the news of the victory came as a shock. Around us soldiers kissed each other, cried and fired in the air! This was the first soldiers' salute to victory, which was subsequently to become a multicolored gigantic fireworks in Moscow. Forty years have passed since that day. We became veterans and retired. Our service, however, is continuing. We have an active veterans' club of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko First Division, a club of the "Ryazan" people, i.e., of those who graduated from the Ryazan military school. We work a great deal. We visit plants, factories and schools. Above all, we go to the young people who must, more than anything else, learn the price of victory and its significance today.

Europe has lived in peace for 40 years. Today, however, we know that there are people in the West who would like once again to remake the map of Europe. In the FRG revanchists are rearing their heads. The Washington administration is mounting a new arms race, dreaming of the militarization of space and "Star Wars." The world is threatened. In celebrating the anniversary of the victory, let us remember this and let us struggle to prevent a new catastrophe.

Recollection, by S. Petukhov, PRAVDA correspondent in Romania, special for  
KOMMUNIST

Mihai Savel and I are walking along 7 April Street in Botosani and my new acquaintance is quickly describing his combat past. This past began on the unforgettable day of 7 April 1944, when formations of the Second Ukrainian Front, crushing the desperate resistance of the fascist hordes, fought their way in Botosani's suburbs and soldiers with red stars on their caps pulled down from the roof of the kommandatura the hated flag with the swastika. Mihai Savel, the rural teacher and clandestine communist worker, together with his fellow villagers, undertook to expell the brown plague from his native land, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet liberators.

He fought in a Romanian unit which interacted with the 27th army of the Second Ukrainian Front. He became friends with one of its officers, Major Ivan Shatalovich, from Kiev. After the stubborn fighting for Cluj, they accidentally met on one of the liberated streets in the Transylvanian capital. The two friends hugged each other and swore not to spare their lives and strength until the total routing of the Hitlerite filth. Today, a proud "Thirty-four" stands on a stone pedestal on one of the main squares in Cluj. At that time, protected by these machines made of steel, automatic weapons in hand, they had to make their way to the railroad station which was fiercely defended by the fascists.

Day after day, this Romanian veteran remembers the combat days of the fiery 1944. When Soviet formations and Romanian army detachments reached the Hungarian border, Savel was by then a company commander. "Our interaction and cooperation with the commanders of the liberation army, already well trained on Romanian land," he says, "continued to improve. The mass heroism of the Soviet troops, born of the high feeling of international duty, inspired us in the fierce struggle against the fascist occupation forces." It is as though this was happening only yesterday: Mihai rising to the attack, following the Soviet officer, disarming a group of Hitlerites at the outskirts of a village, together with Soviet soldiers, a visit to the bivouac of the Romanian battalion by Marshal Ya. Malinovsky, during a brief spell. The front commander asked about the mood of the combat friends and about communists in the battalion.... Could such a thing be forgotten?

Once again Mihai Savel and Ivan Shatalovich met in Miskolc. How many things there were to tell to the Soviet brother, how many questions there were....The laws of war, however, are merciless and the soldier's duty was calling. They went west, following their own ways, fighting in Czechoslovakia, where they welcomed victory and never saw each other again. "Where is my Ivan, my friend and tutor," Mihai sighs. "Is he alive? I wish I could just glance at him!...."

Later, when Savel returned in his native Botosani, his brother Emil, also a party member, was to describe to him how the Soviet troops helped the citizens to organize their peacetime life. On the second day after the liberation Marshal I. S. Konev met with the clandestine communist workers, and chose the most active among them to become members of the provisional city managing committee. He, Emil, was asked to head it. He described to Mihai the

important work which, relying on such cadres, the Soviet military administration did, the rebuilding of the urban economy, restoring transportation and communications, reopening medical establishments and schools and developing trade....

"After the victory, we parted with the Soviet troops like with brothers," Savel said, shaking my hand. "Let the liberators know that we carefully remember them in our hearts."

At the Barricades of Prague, by Jaroslav Mazur

Some days are worth an entire lifetime. Jaroslave Mazur is already past 80. He has seen and experienced a great deal during that time. However, when he begins to think of the past his memory frequently takes him back to May 1945, to the barricades at which rebellious Prague was fighting the fascists.

At the request of KOMMUNIST editors, S. Vtorushin, PRAVDA's correspondent, met with Jaroslav Mazur. They talked in the premises of the district committee of the Union of Antifascist Fighters in Prague-3. Here a number of photographs are exhibited from that time, along with hand-written collections of memories of participants in and witnesses to the uprising. The veteran commented on each photograph and written page. He clearly recalls details of the events through the evening of 6 May, when he was severely wounded by a fascist submachine gunner. Following is Jaroslav Mazur's story.

Preparations for the Prague national uprising began as early as the autumn of 1944. Clandestine revolutionary committees, rallying the antifascists within their ranks, appeared in Prague. The leading role in them was played by the communists. In our Zizkov district, such a committee was set up in September 1944.

Despite the fiercest possible repressions, resistance to the Hitlerites started the day they entered Czech soil. It took various forms. I was a participant. I had been trained as a radio telegraph operator during my army service during the so-called first republic. This skill proved to be quite handy during the war, when Germans forbid under pain of death listening to Moscow and London. I was rigging up in radio sets previously confiscated by the Hitlerites short-wave receivers which allowed our people to find the truth about the situation at the fronts.

In the summer of 1945, when the front was coming increasingly closer to Czechoslovakia, manifestations of hatred for the occupation forces and symptoms of the approaching popular explosion became particularly noticeable. German street signs on the streets of Prague were being destroyed, stores were refusing to accept German money and people prevented Wehrmacht soldiers from riding street cars.

the railroad. The main railroad station is located here and the path to the center of the city goes through it. That is why the Hitlerites had set up here an entire system of fortifications, which included several strong points.

On the morning of 5 May, members of our revolutionary committee, headed by Antonin Irzina, went to the district city hall and announced that they were proclaiming a Czechoslovak republic. All city hall officials were expelled and the Zizkov committee took over and assumed leadership of the uprising. Its first order was to erect barricades. Everything possible had to be done to prevent the Hitlerites from crossing Zizkov on their way to the center of the city. By the morning of 6 May 280 barricades had been set up in our district; 1,400 barricades had been erected throughout Prague.

At the same time, the combat groups of the revolutionary committee launched their preplanned operations. The first to join the battle was the group headed by Frantisek Harold. With a sudden strike it captured the German barracks and several machine gun nests in its vicinity. This was followed by the capture of the telephone office, which was under strong SS guard. Many of the station's personnel were Germans. All of them were disarmed.

We must point out that the seizure of the station had been planned since the autumn of 1944. A detailed map of the building was obtained through our people working on the inside and all entrances and the location of all premises were studied in detail. The Hitlerites were caught by surprise and 107 of them surrendered.

This was followed by the seizure of another most important site: the Strasnic radio station. It was precisely with its facilities that the first appeal by Vaclav Vacek, Prague's first revolutionary leader, was broadcast from the Staromest city hall: "Citizens of Prague! The day for which you have been waiting for these entire 6 humiliating years has come. Once again Prague is ours. Nothing can change this fact, not even the senseless and criminal ravings of the fleeing German military."

The rebels, including those in Zizkov, were short of weapons and ammunition which had to be procured from the enemy. The workers at the Vrsovice railroad station found out that a train with weapons was standing at a siding. They captured it by disarming the guards. A great deal of submachine guns, hand grenades and bazookas fell into the hands of the rebels.

The war was drawing to an end, Berlin had already fallen but a nearly million-strong group commanded by Field Marshal Schorner was in Moravia. It was making its way to the West, to the American zone. The Hitlerites were well aware what having behind them a rebellious Prague meant. The Viking Division tried to make its way across Prague.

Loyal to their man-hating nature to the last minute, the fascists expelled the people from their homes, forcing them to walk in front of their tanks in order to breach the barricades. This way they were able to go through four barricades in a Zizkov street. At the fifth barricade, a 15-year old hit a tank with a bazooka and the other tanks turned back immediately. We could not find out who he was for he was killed during the battle.

Our group, commanded by Joseph Gradil, was assigned to capture the Hitlerite strong point from which a major sector in our area was kept under fire. We attacked repeatedly but every time were forced to retreat. In one of these attacks two fascist bullets ran right through my chest. The comrade who was next to me was killed. A difficult situation had developed in the northern edge of Zizkov. The situation was also difficult in the center of Prague, where the Hitlerites were trying to capture the Staromest city hall. More than 50 shells had hit the building and its upper stories were in flames. However, the fascists failed. Soviet tanks came to the aid of bleeding Prague.

also been wounded in the battle for Prague. Both of us were happy. Fascism had been defeated and once again the banner of freedom was flying over enslaved Europe. It was brought by the Red Army. At that time the hospital was visited by General Ludvik Svoboda. He awarded me and other Czechoslovak fighters the military cross.

For the past 40 years we have lived in peace thanks to the great victory in the name of which tens of millions of people lost their lives. During that time Czechoslovakia has blossomed like never before. A generation of people unfamiliar with war has grown up. However, mankind must never forget the high price of peace.

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## THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN ITALY -- A CONTRIBUTION TO THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85) pp 68-76

[Article by Arrigo Boldrini, member of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the National Association of Italian Partisans]

[Text] Describing the picture of the antifascist liberation struggle in Italy is no simple matter. It requires the study of the very essence of the country's recent and most recent history, starting with the period of its national unification in the middle of the 19th century. This is the only approach which would allow us most thoroughly to identify the reasons for the political crisis of 1920-1922, which enabled fascism to seize the main power levers in the country on 28 October 1922. A broad historical view is also necessary if we are to gain a clear idea of the characteristics of the sociopolitical and economic struggle within Italian society during the 20 years of fascism, in the suppressing atmosphere of imperialist and adventuristic foreign policy, from the 1935-1936 aggressive war in Abyssinia to unleashing World War II alongside Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan.

Nevertheless, I believe that even in a short article it would be pertinent to recall some of the basic features of the movement of resistance to fascism and to analyze it, albeit partially and sketchily.

Starting with 1922, step by step Mussolini's authoritarian dictatorship strengthened its positions in all governmental structures and, in the final account, was able to establish an open terrorist regime in the country. We should not forget the role which the Black Shirts, these armed fascist gangs financed by the most reactionary groups of the ruling class and acting with the open connivance and, occasionally, even support of the bourgeois-liberal state authorities, played in these events, in violation of all the laws. As A. Gramsci wrote in the newspaper ORDINE NUOVO, on 23 July 1921, in the first days of 1921 alone some 1,500 Italians were killed with bullets and clubs by the fascist rascals, while another 40,000 citizens were wounded, maimed or beaten up. Using naked violence, the fascists dealt heavy blows above all at the political and trade union organizations of the working people.

After the Mussolini government had passed emergency laws in 1926, the final shaping of the fascist-totalitarian regime, and the extensive reprisals against the most active centers of resistance to fascism, which gradually



followed them, shifted from the streets and squares of Italian democratic centers to jails and places of exile. Between 1927 and 1943 about 5,000 antifascist fighters and democrats were sentenced by the special fascist courts to long jail terms; 14,000 had been exiled and it is obvious that all of them were, as write the authors of the book "Italy in Exile. 1936-1943" (Rome, 1983), merely the "tip of the iceberg" of the masses of people who had been subjected to various forms of persecution on the part of fascism. These people represented various antifascist trends. Different forces made their contribution to the antifascist movement among whom, unquestionably, the greatest contribution was made by the communists. The movement included socialists, Catholics, republicans, liberals, anarchists, members of Chroat and Slovene minorities and Lybian and Ethiopian patriots who had mounted in their countries a national liberation struggle against the Italian colonizers. The majority of these fighters belonged primarily to the toiling classes of workers and peasants. This was one of the most outstanding features in the struggle against Italian fascism.

It is true that if we compare these figures with data on repressions in Hitlerite Germany, the number of people sentenced by the special fascist courts and exiled in our country may not appear particularly high. Indeed, fascism attained its extreme development in Germany and its monstrous forms exceed the range of human understanding. Italian fascism, however, although it was unable to subordinate to itself entirely the full social structure, has the unfortunate claim to primogeniture. Furthermore, a fascist dictatorship cannot be gauged merely on the basis on the number of people jailed or physically destroyed; it must be assessed also in terms of the degree of the spiritual supression of the people and the violation of laws and human rights. Like German Nazism, Italian fascism meant denial of all rights and freedoms of the individual and violating the human mind and conscience. It hurled the development of civilization back for many decades.

Unquestionably, the greatest international event in the history of the antifascist struggle was the participation of volunteers from 54 different countries, including 3,354 Italians, in the armed defense of Republican Spain, after the 12th July 1936 mutiny of the fascist generals. I am referring to the Garibaldi Battalion, which became the 12th Garibaldi Brigade in April 1937 and which, along with other units of foreign internationalists (which also included Italians) fought side by side with the Spanish republican troops.

The 1936-1939 war in Spain, 3 years of stubborn battles, privations and casualties, allowed the forces in the Italian subunits to gain valuable political and military experience and to draw lessons to be applied in the future antifascist struggle. The first of them is the need for unity among all antifascist forces as a mandatory prerequisite for success and political unification for the sake of victory over fascism by communists, socialists, republicans, supporters of the "justice and freedom" movement headed by Carlo Rosselli (who launched at that time the battle cry "Today in Spain and tomorrow in Italy"), liberals, Roman Catholic groups and other democratic parties and social trends. All of them rallied together in the trenches on the approaches to Madrid and Guadalajara, and on the banks of the Ebro, which became for the Italian antifascists a symbolic bastion of the defense not only of Spanish but of Italian and world civilization against the new fascist

barbarism of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. Unquestionably, from the viewpoint of the skill of combat operations, the war in Spain, although it was a clash between two confronting armies, was largely a dress rehearsal for the future guerilla warfare in Europe. The war in Spain was precisely the type of training which many internationalist fighters applied in World War II in the course of their active participation in the partisan movement. To this day the importance of their contribution to the organization of antifascist guerilla activities in Italy and other countries is still not always properly assessed.

The war in Spain had a deep repercussion in Italy: it awakened many minds which had previously remained under the influence of fascist propaganda. Added to this was the process of intensified antifascist feelings caused by the steady worsening of the economic and sociopolitical situation within the country and Mussolini's foreign military adventures. The results of these adventures is known: the defeat of the Italian and German forces in North Africa in 1942-1943, the 10 July 1943 landing of Anglo-American forces in Sicily and, before that, the epic battle for Stalingrad at the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943 and the advance of the Red Army, in the course of which the Italian expeditionary corps, which numbered nearly 250,000 soldiers and officers, was routed. The corps lost one-half of its strength in killed, missing-in-action and captured, was withdrawn from the front and sent outside Soviet territory.

We must not forget that the successful operations of the Red Army inspired the peoples of Europe and triggered the upsurge of the antifascist struggle everywhere. The victory of the Soviet armed forces and the heroism and dedication of the Soviet people, who suffered tremendous casualties, radically changed the course of World War II.

In these international circumstances and under the influence of military failures and difficult socioeconomic conditions prevailing in our country, the contradictions between the fascist regime and the people's masses became aggravated to the limit. This was a period when the working people were forced to subsist on 150 grams of bread daily and when the working day, together with commuting time, exceeded 12 hours. The opposition of the peasants to mandatory grain procurements was becoming increasingly widespread and stubborn, as a result of which in 1942-1943 only one-third of the grain crops harvested in the country were delivered to procurement centers. The people's protest against unbearable living conditions was not, however, a self-seeking aim. It was also directed against the war and fascism.

Strikes aggravated the internal crisis: In March 1943, with relatively small forces, there were 268 strikes in which the actions of the working people were stubborn and fierce in nature. A strike covering 100,000 people, a huge number at that time, broke out in Turin on 5 March 1943, which was subsequently joined by the personnel of large enterprises in Milan and other northern Italian cities. That period was marked by a number of memorable events. With increasing frequency workers, who were members of the Fascist Party and ordered to show up for work wearing their black shirt, refused to obey. During the March 1943 strikes workers, who were members of the Fascist Party, and who had been urgently mobilized to break the strike, joined the

strikers. It is also important to emphasize that these strikes became widespread and, in many enterprises, general, in a fascist country at war, in which strikers could be and were sentenced to long jail terms by court martials. The profound gap which had developed between the fascist regime and the overwhelming majority of the Italian people, was totally unexpected to the fascist leadership and the big bourgeois circles running the Italian state.

Paralleling these profound processes, which had spread among the popular masses, was the purposeful work of setting up a united antifascist front. As early as October 1941, a conference of communists, socialists and members of the "justice and freedom movement" had taken place in the south of France, and an action committee for Italian popular unity had been created with the purpose of organizing the antifascist resistance. The Italian Communist Party had already organized its clandestine activities even earlier. The Action Party was founded in the summer of 1942 on the basis of the "Justice and Freedom" antifascist movement; the socialist party, with its proletarian unity branches, was energized; the movement of Christian Democrats developed; new organizations and other parties--republican, liberal, etc.--began to reappear in various parts of the country.

The crisis of the fascist state was manifested most fully and reached its culminating point on 25 July 1943 when the Mussolini regime fell and the "Duce" himself was arrested. At that time the upsurge of the popular movement had reached an impressive scale.

It is frequently forgotten that the first post-fascist government, headed by Marshal Badoglio, which had been formed as a result of the "palace coup," marked its advent to power with fierce reprisals aimed at preventing the democratic parties from assuming a leading position in society and the people from implementing plans for a nationwide uprising. In the course of these events, between 25 July and 8 September 1943, 105 people were killed, 572 were wounded and 2,455 detained. Despite this, however, under the pressure of the popular movement, political prisoners were released and democratic parties were granted legal status. A new period began in Italian history. However, after the armistice with the allies was signed on 8 September 1943, and the simultaneous occupation of the main Italian centers by German-fascist forces and their disarming of the Italian armed forces, the king and the government hastily fled from Rome going south to Brindisi, which had already been liberated by the allies.

However, declaring war on the "Third Reich" by the people themselves, and the spontaneous outbreak of their armed struggle against the German occupation forces and the local fascists, was the most outstanding event, of exceptional importance and unique nature even on the scale of the entire modern history of Italy. This took place long before the Badoglio government, which had officially declared war on Hitlerite Germany on 13 October 1943, and even before the Committee for National Liberation (CNL) had been created in Rome on 9 September 1943. On behalf of all antifascist forces, on that day the committee issued a manifesto which read: "At a time when nazism is trying to restore in Rome and Italy the power of its fascist ally, the antifascist forces are uniting within the Committee for National Liberation, calling upon the Italians to struggle and resist and restore for Italy its proper place in

the community of free nations." The movement of leftist forces had long worked for the creation of such popular resistance and power authorities, which were now being established on the entire territory occupied by the German fascist troops.

These important changes within the country coincided in time with the beginning of the armed resistance of Italian troops abroad. In September-October 1943 many Italian soldiers turned their weapons against the German army in Greece. Thousands upon thousands of Italian soldiers and officers, who had been sent to Greece in 1940-1943, took the side of the partisans in that and other Balkan countries. This was a clear manifestation of the way in which the people were becoming imbued with a new awareness and of the way Italian soldiers who only recently had been members of the occupation forces, which had committed crimes against the population, were willing and able to participate in the struggle for the liberation of these countries and the way they discovered for themselves the existence of a different Europe, the Europe of a people's partisan struggle, having mastered the bitter lessons of an aggressive war in which they had been totally subordinated to the German Nazis. The Italian partisan groups abroad frequently took the name of Garibaldi, who represented to them a symbol of participation in both international and national struggle for freedom. The price they paid for freedom was high: As of September 1943 35,000 people were killed on the battlefield, remembered by the peoples of Europe as the embodiment of the living historical and political ties between Italian and antifascist patriots and the entire European resistance movement.

Speaking of the evolvement of the antifascist movement in Italy and the armed struggle waged by guerrilla formations in the country, we should not forget the tremendous contribution and powerful impulse which was given to the entire European resistance by the Red Army and the Soviet guerilla movement. Whereas earlier wars were waged, as a rule, by regular armies only, commanded by professional military leaders and staffs, in World War II the experience of the USSR and other countries proved that this time the war had mobilized and raised in the struggle against fascism the broadest possible popular masses and that the victory was not only the victory of armed forces but of nations as well. For it was won with the steady support of the popular resistance front and extensive guerilla warfare.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, many people in our country did not believe in guerilla warfare. As far as we, communists, were concerned, aware of national traditions and relying above all upon the favorable possibilities of mobilizing the popular masses of the country "from below," under the political leadership of the Committee for National Liberation, we deemed it historically mandatory and necessary to wage a patriotic and popular war on the side of the allies.

Indeed, the war for the liberation of Italy refuted all prophecies of home-spun and foreign theoreticians that a broad resistance movement was impossible; it rejected all obsolete dogmas and rules of martial science and art, isolating the political forces which had adamantly preached the tactic of expectation, and calling for relying exclusively on the victory of the allies.

Guerilla formations began to take shape in the country in a great variety of ways, depending on political, social and local conditions; this frequently took place on a totally spontaneous basis. That is why the problems of organizing and developing the resistance movement, which required immediate solution, became problems of exceptional importance and difficulty. The first problem was how to become part of the operative military situation on a global and national scale and act in conjunction with the allies, taking into consideration the political and military-strategic influence of their combat operations upon the situation in our country; how to wage, on a parallel basis, our own people's war, pursuing national objectives; how to interact and cooperate with the Anglo-American allies while, at the same time, preserving and strengthening autonomous parties and structures which could carry out a concentrated struggle with all means at our disposal against an experienced enemy; how, under such circumstances, to provide political and military operational scope for our independent actions, the purpose of which was to ensure that Italy was really participating in World War II on the side of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Hundreds of brigades and partisan formations were organized in the course of the 20 months of struggle for liberation in the northern and central parts of Italy: 575 Garibaldi brigades, set up on communist initiative, 198 "Justice and Freedom" brigades, headed by the antifascist Action Party, 70 socialist brigades and 255 brigades describing themselves as autonomous.<sup>2</sup> This was the broad framework of the organizational and political varieties within the resistance movement. Despite all differences among democratic political forces, the existence of a common will shown by the participants in the movement made sure that the allies realized the role which the resistance had played in the struggle for the liberation of Italy.

We must emphasize that citizens from many other countries, the USSR above all, participated in the Italian partisan struggle; 5,000 Soviet people fought in our resistance, more than 400 of whom were killed in combat. We shall always remember that three of the fallen Soviet fighters were bearers of the Gold Medal for Military Valor, Italy's highest national award. It is thus that, once again, the unity among nations in the struggle against fascism and for freedom was demonstrated on an international scale.

The price which our people paid in this struggle was high. Italian fascists and Hitlerites (who abducted Mussolini from his place of detention and created a puppet "Italian Social Republic" on occupied Italian territory in September 1943--editor) established an unprecedented regime of terror and engaged in most cruel repressions. We cannot forget the real genocide which raged everywhere: Hundreds of villages and towns burned and rased to the ground, firing squads and concentration camps are confirmations of this fact.

Some data on the routing of the military formations of Mussolini's "Salo Republic" (named after the resort Salo, in northern Italy, where the Hitlerite troops had seated its "government"--editor) prove the decisive contribution of partisan formations in the struggle for Italy's liberation. They were used exclusively against the partisan movement. Such subunits, numbering 250,000 men, set up by Italian fascists, were a considerable force. Nor should we ignore the constant and active participation of 10-15 German divisions which



were maintaining the occupation of Italian territory and conducting continuous operations against partisan formations.

All of this proves that the specific feature of the antifascist liberation movement in World War II, which made it different from the first national Risorgimento,<sup>3</sup> was the extensive and active participation of the people. As we pointed out, the very first popular actions, the worker strikes of March 1943, had indicated that the struggle for liberation was based on the large scale mobilization of popular masses. One could say that the objective conditions themselves led to a situation in which the working class and all working people became the main motive force in the antifascist resistance.

Naturally, 20 years of fascist rule and three years of terrible war and German occupation had made living and working conditions unbearable. This helped make worker resistance in factories and plants a decisive factor in the development of the new situation, led to a virtual paralysis of industry and resulted in a certain diminution of fascist military potential. At the same time, the wave of strikes meant a conversion to the immediate protection of the vital rights of the working people and it was precisely worker resistance that helped save for Italy's future tremendous national resources. Nor should we forget the fact that the worker resistance movement became an efficient means of struggle against the demagogic actions of the fascist "Salò Republic," which tried to win over some of the working class with the help of "worker commissions" and other such initiatives, fraudulently using some old slogans and demands of the factory movement itself.

Great individual courage and resolve were demanded of the striking workers. They risked not only their wages and jobs but their freedom and their very life. Let us remember that the economic and social struggle which was mounted did not pursue tactical objectives only. It was also aimed at achieving objectives of a strategic nature in the socioeconomic and political areas.

It would be difficult to list in a short article all the strikes of workers and working people in the country from 8 September 1943 to 25 April 1945, when a general uprising broke out on still occupied Italian territory. However, two outstanding landmarks should be singled out in the strike movement: The strikes in the spring and autumn of 1944, in which hundreds of thousands of workers in the industrial centers participated. During that period, 60 large strikes broke out in Milan alone.

The most noteworthy fact was the rapid involvement in the antifascist struggle of the countryside, which had remained totally outside the first Italian Risorgimento. The 1943-1944 resistance papers constantly emphasized that the property of the peasants should be respected and their opposition to the requisitioning of products by local fascists and Nazi occupants should be supported by all possible ways and means. Under such circumstances, taking into consideration the experience gained by the peasant masses during the fascist dictatorship, which had pursued a repressive agrarian policy, a firm foundation could be laid for the antifascist unification of all Italian working people, involving the participation of peasants, farm hands and members of other social groups living in rural areas. Farmers set up real militia detachments and assumed responsible positions in partisan formations.



With the help of nationwide support, this made possible not only comprehensively to expand efficient reconnaissance and intelligence, which provided valuable information about the enemy, but also to convert to the organization of territorial groups for patriotic action, which mounted combat actions of tremendous importance throughout the country and, particularly, the rural plain areas in northern Italy. This widespread participation of the popular masses of town and country in the resistance became the most important sociopolitical factor in the struggle for liberation.

In a word, this was a real popular war with its specific and exclusive features. Let us remember the contribution made by more than 35,000 women guerrillas and 70,000 members of women's self-defense detachments. A large number of them have never been identified. Women acted as courriers, scouts and members of combat groups, including 512 commanders and commissars in many sectors of the clandestine struggle. According to incomplete data 4,633 women were detained, tortured or executed by decision of fascist courts; 2,750 were deported to Germany and 623 were executed by the fascists without a trial or killed in combat.

Such a scope of activities of the popular masses could not fail to raise the question of creating a national political leadership headed by a national unity government and recognized by the entire liberation movement. The communist political initiative in resolving this problem, known as the "Salerno Turn,"<sup>4</sup> became possible thanks to the exclusive talent and analytical work done by Palmiro Togliatti, which became the prerequisite for the formation of a government with the participation of all democratic forces. In April 1944, the new government, headed by Badoglio, but this time already with the participation of communists, socialists, Christian democrats, labor party members and liberals, took over the running of the country, although within the limits set by the allies. This government played a particular role in the destinies of the country. It undertook to resolve a prime problem of tremendous importance, i.e., "to throw the full forces of the country into waging a national liberation war."

This made it possible to surmount, albeit partially, the mistrust of the allies to make them recognize the partisan movement and, finally, to obtain their agreement for the broader involvement of Italian armed forces in the war against Hitlerite Germany. Above all through the participation of formations of the resistance movement: the corps of volunteers for freedom. Combat groups from Cremona, Mantua, Legnano and other cities were already taking part in military operations alongside regular air and navy units. It was precisely here that for the first time on a mass scale and thanks to initiative from below partisans merged with regular units of the armed forces, thus changing and democratizing the very nature of these army units.

Under those circumstances, the leadership of the national liberation committees, even despite some difficulty in finding common grounds for agreement and cooperation among the different member parties, was faced with a specific political task: To prepare and initiate a national uprising. It was precisely such an uprising that could and should become the high point of the entire liberation struggle. Making this decision was no easy matter because of political differences and the various approaches to determining the time of

the uprising and the means of mobilizing the forces and the formulation of operative plans for the liberation of the various cities.

Nevertheless, it became possible to start a national uprising throughout northern Italy by 25 April. This was one of the great events in our country's political and military history, accomplished despite the opposition of some forces within the country and the counteraction of the Anglo-American allies.

The plans for the uprising, drafted for Turin, Milan, Genoa and 100 other places, proved the power and the ability of the liberation movement to clear most of Italy's territory from the enemy even before allied detachments could reach the area. The rebels were able to deal a crushing blow at the German forces and Italian fascist formations and save from destruction factories, plants and entire city districts (as we know, in the course of the uprising Mussolini was captured by Garibaldi partisans in an attempt to escape abroad, sentenced to death and executed by firing squad on 28 April 1945--editor). Democratic administrations on the provincial and communal levels were being created everywhere. Such administrations were able to initiate immediately their difficult job of social management and restoration.

One could speculate at length on the actual errors and shortcomings and the limitations of the liberation movement. It is true that it defeated the military and political machinery of fascism but failed to reach the very depth of the economic and social foundations of the regime. Freedom, national independence and democracy, as codified in the constitution of the Italian republic, which was adopted in December 1947 by the Constituent Assembly, were gained; essential parts of the constitution, however, were not truly applied.

It is thus that the great force of renovation appeared and strengthened in our country, manifested in the peoples' participation, support of the desire for renovation, and a true restructuring of the Italian state, consistent with the requirements of a progressive and free democracy and on the basis of the active involvement of the working people and all popular forces in national life. A spiritual legacy exists, which has become even richer since then in the course of the struggle for civic, social and democratic rights. It is the pace of today's national consciousness which should neither be underestimated nor ignored.

A great deal has been written on the fact that the "cloaks and armor" should be taken off the people of the Resorgimento in order to see their true ideological values, love for homeland and support of democracy.

Well, the veterans of the struggle for national liberation have long hung on the wall their "cloaks and uniforms." However, they are continuing to work with and for the people alongside the new generations, so that our world could truly become a world without war, a world of freedom and progress.

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## THE SOVIET UNION'S MISSION OF LIBERATION

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[Article by Werner Cieslak, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Germany]

[Text] The fiercest of all wars in Europe ended 40 years ago, in May 1945. At the cost of tremendous sacrifices, the Soviet Army and people, the soldiers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the members of the resistance movement inflicted a military defeat on Hitlerite fascism. World War II, which it had unleashed, ended in Europe on German soil. It was by this token that the German people as well were freed from war and fascism in May 1945. The day of surrender marked the collapse of the criminal policy of German monopoly capital, its aspirations towards world domination and the Nazi system it had created. The German people harvested the bitter fruits of fascist tyranny and its monstrous war crimes committed against the European peoples and, not least, against millions of Germans themselves. That is why lessons had to be drawn from everything that had taken place and practical conclusions reached in choosing a new path.

World War II cost mankind a great deal: 50 million lost lives. More than 20 million Soviet citizens perished in the course of their selfless struggle. About 6 million Poles, and 1.7 million Yugoslav citizens were killed in military operations or tortured, poisoned with gas, or killed by hunger in concentration camps. The peoples of the anti-Hitlerite coalition as well suffered high casualties: 600,000 Frenchmen, 400,000 Americans, 370,000 Britons and hundreds of thousands of members of other nationalities. Considerable casualties were suffered by the peoples of Asia and Africa as well. These were the bloody traces left by Nazism and the rulers of the fascist "Axis" coalition. The German people must not forget this. The fascist regime and the war it unleashed cost the German people themselves more than 6 million lives.

In speaking of this, we must again turn to the question which is quite disturbing to the to the young generation of our country: what were the true intentions and objectives of Hitlerite fascism? Above all, they were the aspiration to implement the insane idea of world domination, which would have enabled it not only to establish a "new order" on the planet but also to satisfy the predatory appetite of the monopolies, who dreamed of exploiting

the natural resources and the manpower of enslaved countries and entire continents. The main obstacle to its implementation was the Soviet Union, for which reason the first task in the implementation of the fascist plans was the destruction of land of the soviets. Hitler, Goebbels, Goring and the likes had openly proclaimed all of this.

Hitlerite fascism was the lever with the help of which German monopoly capital was trying to implement its criminal plans, using terror within the country and aggression abroad. Millions of Germans, deceived by the myth of the "threat from the east" and false premises of imaginary well-being as a result of aggressive campaigns, let themselves be used for purposes alien to them, to the detriment of their own vital interests. And this was taking place even when there was no longer any doubt that the war was drawing to its logical conclusion: the catastrophe of fascism.

The courageous antifascist resistance of the communists and social democrats, members of Christian circles and some bourgeois strata, as well as individual actions taken by patriotic Wehrmacht officers (such as K. von Stauffenberg and his confederates) were all of them significant in the struggle against Nazi tyranny. The "Free Germany" movement, which was created in the Soviet Union in July 1943, also made a great contribution to the struggle. However, it was the Soviet army which had a decisive say in ending the destructive war and overthrowing the Hitlerite regime. It brought liberation and it was thanks to its selfless struggle against the aggressors and oppressors of the peoples that the unconditional surrender of the German fascist armed forces was signed on the night of 9 May 1945. The German people were given the real opportunity to punish the Nazi criminals and remove them from social life, and to condemn the military and big capital, above all the one linked to armament production.

While the war was still on the Soviet Union had repeatedly emphasized that it was not fighting the German people but Nazism. The USSR was guided by the same principle in the postwar period as well, something which was most clearly manifested in the eastern zone of occupation. The Soviet army and administration became efficient aids of the antifascist democratic forces of the German people, the working class and its party in particular, in their efforts to normalize life. Such Soviet policy contributed to the implementation of a number of measures, consistent with the Potsdam agreement, in the other occupation zones as well. The main task, which was topical in all zones, was to organize normal life and create an antifascist order with the support of the German population. It was precisely in the course of the implementation of this task that a close fraternal alliance developed between the USSR and the socialist GDR, which is continuing successfully to strengthen to this day. The lessons which had to be learned from the tragic experience of the Nazi rule were practically implemented in the GRD. The appeal of the SED Central Committee, and GDR State Council, Council of Ministers and National Council of the National Front "On the Fortieth Anniversary of the Victory over Hitlerite Fascism and the Liberation of the German People" emphasizes that "the liberating action of the Soviet Union gave our people a chance to take a new, antifascist, democratic and socialist path. We made use of this chance....In accordance with the Potsdam agreement, we destroyed militarism and the imperialist roots of the war....The enterprises owned by

Nazis and military criminals became the property of the people. Democratic management and security organs and an antifascist judiciary were created."

It was on the same basis that the land reform was implemented in the then East Zone; the enterprises owned by Nazis and military criminals were confiscated with the support of the overwhelming majority of the population and a democratic school reform was instituted.

The German Democratic Republic was created in October 1949, after divisive forces in the Western zones took a number of separate steps conflicting with the Potsdam agreements and set up a capitalist-type state on part of German territory. This event is justifiably considered a turning point in German and European history. For the first time, a peace-loving state appeared on German soil.

How were the political forces in the Western occupation zones developed and what use was made of the opportunities which were opened thanks to the liberation and the possibility of a progressive-democratic and, in the future, anticapitalist development?

The antifascist democratic forces had felt the entire burden of the domination of military monopolies and the Nazi system. The desire for expansion was particularly strong in the tremendous war industry which had concentrated in the western part of the country. The "leaders" of the the war industry, who were sentenced as war criminals, people such as Krupp, Flick and the gentlemen of the board of I. G. Farbenindustrie, who had profited from the Hitlerite wars, were the initiators and inspirers of the policy of aggression. Meanwhile, it was precisely at the big war industry enterprises that activists and rank-and-file members of worker parties, communists above all, together with social democrats, nonparty workers and members of trade unions, who waged a heroic struggle against the war criminals in the economy. The leadership, activists and members of the CPG proceeded in their work from the concept which had been formulated in its time by the party in the final days of the Weimar republic: Hitler means war. They did not consider the aggressive war prepared by the fascists an inevitable evil. The life and struggle of Ernst Thalmann, CPG chairman, who was killed by the fascists on 18 August 1944 in the Buchenwald concentration camp, together with Rudolf Breitscheid, a social democratic Reichstag deputy, member of the Social Democratic Party, will remain forever a symbol of infinite dedication to the vital interests of the German people.

In the Western occupation zones, communists and social democrats, who maintained close links with their comrades in the Eastern zone, were doing everything possible to use the opportunity which had appeared with the liberation to promote antifascist and democrat development. The 11 June 1945 appeal of the CPG Central Committee to the German people was the starting point for cooperation among all progressive forces in the country. It indicted a realistic path for the democratic renovation of all of Germany. The communists considered as a first step in that direction the need for consistent denazification, the total removal of the proteges of the Hitlerite regime from the administration, the big enterprises, the banks and the big landed estates. The following events should be taken into consideration by

anyone who would like to understand today all that has occurred in West Germany during the postwar period.

In the eastern part of Germany, industrial magnates, bankers and landed estate owners, who had been responsible for fascism and the war, lost their economic and, by that token, their political power. In the Eastern zone the Soviet administration supported the antifascist demands formulated by the German democratic forces.

In the Western zones of occupation the militaristic and monopolistic circles were doing everything possible to end up by saving and reestablishing their power. Taking the mood of the population into consideration, this could be achieved only if, on the one hand, they could rely on the support of the Western occupation powers and, on the other, by weakening the antifascist forces and dividing the main one--the labor movement. That is why the struggle for working class unity and for a broad antifascist democratic alliance was of great importance at that time for the entire further development of the Western zones of occupation.

Remembering the errors of the past and, in particular, the lack of unity in the ranks of the working class, communists and social democrats in the Anglo-American and, subsequently, French zones of occupation, were prepared to fight for unity. The casualties which both had suffered had made them realize that it was the division within the labor movement that had opened the way to power to fascism. The errors made during the Weimar republic were not to be repeated. Working class unity and unity of action between communists and social democrats was and remains the imperative of the times. The learning of these lessons laid the beginning of the fact that between the two parties operating in the Western zones a variety of types of cooperation developed, aimed at avoiding the errors of the past and jointly building an antifascist democratic Germany.

At that time contacts were established between social democrats and communists and, in the majority of cases, firm agreements were reached in all lands. Such was the case, for example, in cities such as Munich, Nurnberg, Furth, Dachau, Landshut and Amberg; in Baden-Wurttemberg Land; Stuttgart, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Offenburg, Freiburg, Breisach, Rastatt, Ludwigsburg, Willingen, Singen and Lorrach; in Hessen: Frankfurt am Main, Wiesbaden, Hanau and elsewhere. In North Rhine-Westphalia agreements were concluded in Dortmund, Duisburg, Essen, Koln, Bochum, Wuppertal, Gladbeck, Recklinghausen, Hamm, Mors, Wanne-Eickel, Oberhausen, Munster, Bielefeld, Dorsten, Gelsenkirchen, Remscheid and many other centers. The same occurred in Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland, in the cities of Saarbrucken and Neunkirchen. The same type of development of events could be traced in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, in cities such as Braunschweig, Hannover, Oldenburg, Kiel and Elmshorn.

Today it is of more than historical interest to trace the wishes expressed by the working people at that time in looking at the programs for joint actions and agreements. Thus, for example, the program for action which was concluded between social democrats and communists in Hamburg stipulates the following on the basic target: "Unquestionably, the working class will be the main support



of the German future. It assumed the main burden of the war. More than anyone else it maintained a warm striving for antifascist democracy. By uniting all of its forces and with the support of the workers of all countries, it must and can become reborn in a unified Germany. The bloody results of 20 years of Hitlerite dictatorship and the social upheavals it created within the country and the Hitlerite wars abroad indicate the need for unification and unity among all working people! Never again division and civil strife!"

During the postwar period, the political parties representing German monopoly capital, interested in regaining its former omnipotence, tried to block democratic reforms and socioeconomic changes as stipulated in the resolutions of the Potsdam conference, or terminating them if such had been initiated. These efforts were comprehensively supported by the imperialist occupation powers. The struggle of the progressive and active segment of the labor movement had other objectives. It promoted unified trade unions and democratic constitutional stipulations of a progressive nature were drafted with its direct participation. The Hessen constitution, for example, bans wars and accepts international law as mandatory in lander justice. The same stipulation was subsequently included in the country's constitution. Articles 37 and 42 of the Hessen constitution called for establishing an antimonopoly democratic order. The constitution was approved by 76.7 percent of the voters. Article 37 grants full participatory right to councils of representatives of blue- and white-collar worker to participate in resolving social, personal and production problems. Lockouts are forbidden. Article 41 calls for public ownership of a number of key industrial sectors and big banks. General Clay, the American military commissioner, even requested that a separate vote be taken on this article. It was taken and 71.9 percent of the Hessen voters voted in favor of including this article in their constitution. Having obtained their proof, the occupation powers imposed a ban on the actual implementation as a constitutional norm of this will of the people, democratically expressed. With such support, big industrial and financial capital was once again able to fall back on its former economic and political power.

The landtag of North Rhine-Westphalia passed a unanimous law on nationalizing the mines. Here as well, however, following the American example in Hessen, the British authorities banned the implementation of this democratic law passed by the parliament.

The imperialist occupation powers systematically violated jointly assumed obligations based on the Potsdam agreement; they promoted separate measures in the Western zones such as, for example, a monetary reform, the creation of zonal administrations and parliaments, etc. Once again they put at the head of the allegedly "dismantled" concerns condemned war criminals and monopolists such as Krupp and Flick. In the final account, they violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements by creating the West German state on 8 September 1949. This made the division of Germany an accomplished fact. It was the result above all of the antinational actions of the German big bourgeoisie, headed by Adenauer. However, the responsibility for such a development of events also falls on the right-wing social democratic leaders, such as Kurt Schumacher. The debate currently taking place in the FRG, the United State and other NATO

countries on the subject of the Yalta accords and demands to annul them are, therefore, nothing but an attempt to avoid historical responsibility and question the results of postwar developments and the boundaries on which European peace rests today.

We must now make the postwar generations aware of historical facts. Such generations have no more than a vague idea of the great feeling of restoration of the labor movement after 1945. The Communist Party of Germany, which was the leading force in the struggle against the restoration of imperialist and militaristic forces in the Federal Republic, which was established at that time, was subject to steady persecution and, in the final account, was even banned. A blow was struck against democracy with the notorious "profession bans." It is true that the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms was not without results. The present task, however, is to pursue the initiated efforts and steadily to restrain and, in the final account, eliminate the power of the monopolies and their political forces.

As during the preparations for World War II, the false myth of "threat from the east" was once again used as the main instrument of the policy of imperialist forces which support NATO's arms race and U.S. nuclear strategy. The militarization of outer space, promoted by the Reagan administration, is described as "completion of armament" and a "defense shield." As in the past, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are promoting the greatest lie of our century. The efforts of the ruling circles in the FRG, the purpose of which is to belittle or distort the significance of the May 1945 liberation, confirmed this most obviously. However, no one has the right to strike out the results of World War II.

The historical results of the victory include the appearance of the people's democracies, whose popular masses, freed from their reactionary rulers, made democratic and socialist changes. In those countries the communist and worker parties became the leading political force. The unity of working class parties, based on Marxist-Leninist principles, became the binding force of the new political and social order. Today this is clearly visible in the example of the successful building of socialism by the members of the socialist community.

The upsurge of the national liberation movement was also, to a significant extent, the consequence of the universal historical victory. The colonialism of the imperialist countries went through its historical decline. Virtually all colonial countries in the world gained their long-awaited national independence.

Stressing merely these two aspects, we can claim with full justification that the victory of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition contributed to radical changes in the correlation of forces in the world arena in favor of peace, democracy and progress.

Despite the predominance of progressive trends, however, many negative phenomena remain in global political developments.

Although the United States and Great Britain assumed at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences obligations of far-reaching significance, the policy of withdrawing from jointly adopted resolutions had been planned in Washington and London while the war was still on. The factual rejection by Britain and the United States of the principles of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, particularly concerning the obligation not to allow the rebirth of German militarism, led to the appearance of dangerous hotbeds of confrontation. NATO is intensively girding the entire world, the socialist countries above all, with a network of military bases and nuclear dumps, in an effort to hinder the historical course of progress. This is also the purpose of the unrestrained arms race urged on by the present U.S. administration.

Today, 40 years later, the nations of the world, the German people in the FRG not last among them, are concerned with the vitally important question of can peace be safeguarded.

Once again a military potential has been accumulated in the FRG through the efforts of NATO supporters and "advocates" of nuclear missiles among the politicians in Bonn, who are members of the right-wing coalition. Once again organized revanchist forces, threatening peace in Europe, are active. They are trying to question the boundaries which were established as a result of the war and demanding a return to the borders of the "Great Reich." This is nothing other than a threat of war, which must be fought before actual war has broken out. This thought was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945:" "Historical experience teaches that the defense of peace requires the united, coordinated and active efforts of all peace loving forces against the aggressive and adventuristic course of imperialism."

Those same influential forces in the FRG, who question the postwar eastern borders in the spirit of the "Great Reich," zealously support the Pentagon's strategy of "policy of strength," and its aspiration to attain military superiority and to have first strike nuclear weapons. They try to forget the outcome of World War II and to rewrite its liberating results. Political leaders in the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag and the heads of revanchist associations, such as Hupka and Tschaia, make their rhetorical demands on peoples's Poland, for example. An article in the newspaper SCHLESIER, the official organ of the Silesian Landsmen Association, provocatorily described a Bundeswehr invasion of the GDR and Poland. The article, entitled "Thoughts on Germany," went so far as to proclaim the absurd task of suppressing the Soviet Union. The official distancing from the content of this article, described as "insane ravings," cannot conceal the fact this revanchist organ was allowed to publish such statements. The federal government is actually financing such actions through regular monetary subsidies to revanchist associations.

The German Communist Party condemns such intrigues. In its declaration on the subject of these events, the GCP Board Presidium, noted the growing wave of protest against revanchism: "The fact that the federal government has disassociated itself from open propaganda of war in the official organ of the Silesian Landsmen Association is the result of the pressure exerted by public opinion. It is a step in the proper direction."

The need to change course in the interest of peace and security in Europe is consistent with the lessons of May 1945: without any "ifs" and "buts" we must make the political course consistent with the international legal recognition of European postwar borders. The federal government must be guided by the spirit and the letter of the treaties it has concluded and put an end to revanchist intrigues.

However, the revanchists belonging to the so-called "exile associations," who have learned nothing, are unwilling to accept these results. There are also forces outside such associations, who try to suppress as best they can the significance of 8 May as liberation day for our people. Such is the case, for example, of Genscher Gaisler, a minister in the Kohl government, and Dregger, chairman of the CDU faction in the Bundestag, who are most zealous supporters of such efforts. According to Gaisler, that anniversary should not be celebrated for it marks "the victory of communist socialism over fascism," and it would have been better "if both had vanished from universal history at that point." The minister expressed such "wisdoms" precisely at the Hessen CDU congress, in February 1985. To Federal Chancellor Kohl, May 1945 was "the nadir of German history," while to Dregger, chairman of the CDU faction in the Bundestag, a "catastrophe." All of this is not an abstract historical debate but a method used in an effort to lead the German people astray and an intention to revise the results of World War II.

Countering such efforts to misrepresent history, a broad movement has marked its appearance in the FRG, the purpose of which is to explain the liberating trend of the war against Hitler and the fascism he represented. The United German Trade Unions (UGTU) noted the anniversary with meetings and demonstrations, conferences and publications of corresponding documents. Ernst Brait, its chairman, described the official Bonn attitude toward the celebration of 8 May as "depressing." In particular, he said at the press conference that "8 May is a reminder to the German labor movement of the fact that it was not the force which overthrew national socialism. That day, however, marked for hired labor the definitive and, from the viewpoint of international law, the effective liberation from the yoke under which it suffered more than anyone else with the exception of the Jews. That is why the UGTU celebrates 8 May as liberation day. The peoples of Eastern Europe, who paid an unparalleled price in blood, do not deserve once again to become the subject of demands which could hardly be described as other than 'revanchism'."

The broad front of action of the veterans--fighters against fascism, democratic and antifascist circles from all population strata--is gathering momentum. On the eve of the memorable date, the Social Democratic Party of Germany published an appeal which read: "Eight May must become the day in which both German states must reassert the pledge they gave to the world: No war should ever originate on German soil." Unfortunately, this appeal fails to mention the important lesson learned from the war and the struggle against fascism: joint actions between social democrats and communists are necessary precisely today, more than ever before. This is one of the main tasks formulated by the GCP in its preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary. Herbert Mies, GCP chairman, clearly expressed this aspiration of

our party in his address to the social democrats, trade union activists, and the "Greens:" "Remembering the lessons of history and in the face of new threats to peace, to the democratic rights and freedoms and to the worker and progressive movements, let us trust each-other even more; let us strengthen our unity and cohesion and jointly act to safeguard peace again, against the arms race, for the successful completion of the Geneva talks, against American nuclear missiles, for cooperation among all democrats and against neonazism and revanchism!"

This fundamental principle of activities of the working class party was also emphasized in the letter sent by the GCP Board to the board of the SDPG, which called for the joint celebration of 8 May: "We jointly bear responsibility for passing on, above all to the young people, the lessons from what we experienced during the time of fascism and war. No one will relieve us of this responsibility. Communists and social democrats fought the fascist dictatorship and the fascist war and suffered heavy casualties. After the liberation communists, social democrats, Christians and antifascists of all political persuasions swore that 'never again must war break out from German soil!' They are deeply convinced that fascism can be stopped and peace secured if the working class acts in a single front, if communists and social democrats cooperate."

For the past 40 years Europe has lived in peace. This is the longest period of peace in our century. An effective system of treaties, concluded by Bonn, exists, signed by representatives of governments in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague and Berlin. In Helsinki all European countries approved a variety of measures to strengthen peace on the continent. All of these are historically important documents aimed at safeguarding peace in Europe, a peace which was obtained with the struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the Soviet army, the participants in the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the antifascist resistance movement. The federal government--such is the view of FRG communists--should not be the accomplice of the Pentagon's wreckers of peace. The times demand of the FRG and the federal government to initiate steps to ensure European security and strengthen peace.

We must never forget the tremendous casualties suffered for the sake of victory over Hitlerite fascism and liberation. Such sacrifices should not be in vain.

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## REALITIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY EPOCH

### EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT FOR PEACE

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pp 85-95

[Article by O. Troyanovskiy, permanent representative of the USSR to the United Nations Organization]

[Text]

1

The United Nations Organization is 40 years old. It is customary to celebrate this anniversary on 24 October, the day on which the UN Charter came into force, having been signed at a conference in San Francisco 4 months previously, on 26 June 1945. A direct link exists between the creation of the United Nations and another date, which was marked in such a celebratory and wide-scale manner this year, the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitler's Germany and militarist Japan. The Soviet people carried out an immortal feat in defending the socialist motherland in the Great Patriotic War and in saving mankind from fascist enslavement. In combat and in work, at the front and in the rear, all the efforts and thoughts of Soviet people were directed toward making the right cause triumph. The foreign policy course, which was called upon to ensure the most favorable conditions for routing the aggressor, was also subordinated to this. A most important achievement of Soviet diplomacy was the formation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the pivot of which became the joint military and political actions of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain.

The main aim of Soviet foreign policy was undoubtedly to hasten the approach of Victory day. But it was also necessary to establish reliable preconditions for a lasting peace and for a system of collective security after the war, in order to finally break the vicious circle--so tragic for mankind--of war, a short breathing spell of peace, if indeed there was one, and then war again of an even more destructive and cruel kind. It is significant that at the conferences of the leaders of anti-Hitlerite coalition in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, at which the most important decisions on routing the aggressor were made, the routes for a shift from war to peace were simultaneously outlined and the contours of the postwar structure were determined.

It was precisely the Soviet Union that stood at the source of the creation of a world organization to maintain peace and security. Even in the initial stage



of the war our country advanced the idea of forming such an organization, proclaiming on 4 December 1941 that "after the victorious war and the appropriate punishment of the Hitlerite criminals it will be the Allied States' task to ensure a lasting and just peace. This could be achieved only by a new organization of international relations, based on an association of democratic countries in a stable alliance. A decisive point in the formation of such an organization must be respect for international law, backed by the collective armed strength of all the Allied States." The UN Declaration, signed on 1 January 1942, was a document which reflected the concept of joint actions by states in favor of peace.

The final decision in favor of creating the United Nations Organization was made at the Moscow conference of foreign ministers of the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain in October 1943. A special declaration recognized the "necessity of establishing, in the shortest possible space of time, a universal international organization to maintain international peace and security, which would be based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, both great and small." Ahead lay almost two more years of war, and there were to be difficult negotiations in developing the organization's charter, but the decision made in Moscow attested to the predominance of those forces which linked mankind's future not to confrontations and wars but to cooperation and the strengthening of confidence between states for the sake of peace. Diplomatic negotiations on the development of the UN Statute were conducted at the conference of representatives of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and China in Dumbarton Oaks (1944) and also at the conference in San Francisco which opened on 25 April 1945, the day of the historic meeting of Soviet and American troops on the Elbe and concluded with the signing of the UN Statute.

Despite differences in their socioeconomic systems and their approaches to many international questions, the participants in the anti-Hitlerite coalition proved capable of the most complex task of developing a fundamental document for the international organization, a document which embodied the principles of sovereign equality of states, freedom and self-determination of peoples, disarmament, nonuse of force in relations between states and non-interference in their internal affairs.

The decisive contribution to the realization of this historic task made by the Soviet delegations at the conference which developed the UN Charter is undoubted. At the concluding session of the San Francisco conference, A.A. Gromyko, then ambassador of the USSR to the United States, stressed in his welcoming address to the new organization that "the peace-loving peoples of the world, who have suffered innumerable losses in the present war, naturally, place great hopes in the creation, through collective efforts, of an international instrument that would be capable of preventing of a repetition of this tragedy for mankind." These words summarize the basic purpose of the United Nations, which is to defend peace, preserve security and struggle against aggression through joint efforts. This idea cements, as it were, the UN edifice together and is the supporting foundation of its charter. For the first time it was possible to establish an international security organization on the firm foundations of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

At the center of the UN mechanism for maintaining international peace and security lies the Security Council, which is invested with the unique right to make decisions on questions discussed by it, decisions which are obligatory for all countries. Its activity is based on the principle of the unanimity of its permanent members, which are the USSR, the United States, China, Great Britain and France. This principle, which represents the single justified and reliable basis of the Security Council's activity, has consolidated the equality and equal rights of states of the two social systems.

However, the first postwar years already showed that the ruling circles of the West did not intend to move along the road of cooperation with the Soviet Union, along which they had started during World War II. At the dawn of the nuclear age, the Washington politicians' heads were turned by the atomic bomb. They imagined that at last they had acquired an undivided monopoly of the "absolute weapon" with which they could intimidate and punish states and peoples which did not accommodate them. They were clearly not suited by the international arena, the formation of the world system of socialism, the narrowing of the sphere of domination of imperialism and colonialism and the growth of the revolutionary movement.

An open claim was made for American world leadership. Aggressive military blocs directed against the socialist countries began to be knocked together. In the West, the channels of normal contact were assiduously blocked one after another, and economic, trade and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and its allies were curtailed. Imperialism waged a "cold war" against world socialism in an attempt at social revanche.

The imperialist states operated from the same positions in the United Nations, too, trying to use this international organization in the interests of diktat and imposition of their will on other countries and peoples, and as an instrument for achieving a dominant position in the postwar world and for conveniently concealing American imperial policy. The goals and principles of the UN Charter, which clearly orientate states toward constructive cooperation based on equal rights and toward joint actions for the sake of peace, began to be openly substituted by a course of "restraining" and "pushing back" the USSR, by confrontation and by an aspiration to encroach on the socialist countries' interest. For a long time the United States and its allies blocked the acceptance of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia and Romania into the United Nations and the restoration of the legal rights of the Korean People's Republic.

American diplomacy came to the United Nations with the "Baruch Plan," which had the obvious aim of perpetuating the United States' nuclear monopoly. It persistently sabotaged Soviet proposals for a ban on nuclear weapons and broke off negotiations on arms reductions. The imperialists tried to conceal the American war in Korea and the interference in the internal affairs of Iran, Indonesia and the Balkan and other states under the UN flag. They used different methods to prevent UN actions in defense of peoples' rights to freedom and independence.

In those years the overwhelming majority of UN member-states comprised countries which were dependent to a greater or lesser extent on the United

States which, with the notorious "voting machine" at its disposal, unceremoniously set it in motion to torpedo proposals aimed at reducing tension in the world and at strengthening universal security. Decisions were passed through this "machine" which did serious damage to the United Nations' authority and which disorganized to a considerable extent the system of international relations envisaged in the UN Charter. At the same time attacks were inspired against the principle of the unanimity of permanent members of the Security Council, which in the hands of the representative of the USSR served as an instrument for defending not only its own state interests but also for guarding the socialist and young liberated states against imperialist encroachments.

In spite of the extremely unfavorable correlation of forces in the United Nations, the Soviet Union did not retreat an inch from its line of mobilizing international efforts to strengthen security in the world. It advanced more than one dozen proposals designed primarily to destroy nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction, to ban armament, to avert the threat of war, and to ban propagandizing of war. Relying on the growing authority of socialism and of peoples' aspiration to live in peace with one another, the Soviet delegations were able, on the basis of these proposals, to have a number of useful decisions adopted by the United Nations, corresponding to the task of reducing tension and to the interest of the struggle of peoples for freedom and national independence.

2

The growth of the might and influence of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist Community, the change in the correlation of forces in the world in favor of socialism, and the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism transformed the entire system of international relations and also had the most serious influence on the United Nations' activity.

The entry of young sovereign states into the world arena and their active role in resolving the destiny of mankind confirmed V.I. Lenin's prediction that "the socialist revolution will not be only, or mainly, the struggle of revolutionary proletarians against their bourgeoisie in every country; no, it will be the struggle of all colonies and countries which have been oppressed by imperialism, and of all dependent countries, against international imperialism" (Complete Collected Works, vol 39, p 327).

Virtually all of the most important UN proposals on decolonization have come from the Soviet Union. It was precisely on the initiative of our state that the United Nations adopted the 1960 declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which gave powerful impetus to the decolonization process. In a short historical space of time the colonial empires were overthrown and many dozens of the new independent states appeared on the map of the world. However, the goals set in the declaration have as yet not been fully realized. The message from M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the participants in the special jubilee session of the UN General Assembly on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the declaration states that it is the Organization's duty to "take urgent measures to realize the declaration to its full extent," and "to contribute in

every way possible to the acceleration of the process of decolonization in the economic sphere and to the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis."

It is symbolic that one of the first foreign policy actions by the young states was their application to be accepted as members of the organization, which opened its doors wide to them. The rapid growth of the UN membership through the liberated countries introduced a fresh new current into its activity and changed the general arrangement of forces. It is difficult even to imagine that at the moment of its creation the United Nations had only four African states and eight countries of Asia there. The change in the situation at the United Nations and the need for its more active and effective participation in solving urgent international problems brought about the appearance of a number of new organs within it. In the years 1961 to 1967 the 18-state Committee on Disarmament (subsequently the Conference on Disarmament), the 24-country committee on the implementation of the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples, the Anti-Apartheid Committee, the UN Council on Namibia and a number of other international organs were created. The composition of the main UN organs, including the Security Council, expanded due to the participation of the liberated countries.

An important factor in contemporary international life now is the Nonaligned Movement, presently uniting about 100 Asian, African and Latin American states, which devote a considerable place in their foreign policy activity to the United Nations. At the last, seventh, conference in Delhi, the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries again stressed the importance of this organization "as the most acceptable international forum for the search for solutions to the basic world problems, such as the achievement of universal and total disarmament, the establishment of a new international economic order, the liquidation of colonialism and racism and the observance of human rights." The coincidence or proximity of the positions of the nonaligned and socialist countries on the cardinal aspects of contemporary world problems is the solid basis which determines their joint actions in the United Nations.

As a result of the cooperation of socialist and liberated countries, a prominent place in the work of the Security Council and the General Assembly is now occupied by questions connected with the liquidation of hotbeds of conflict and the danger of war in various regions of the world, and primarily in the Near East, Central America and southern Africa. The Soviet Union's basic proposals for a settlement in the Near East, and primarily for the convocation of an international conference with the participation of all interested sides, have been reflected in numerous decisions of recent General Assembly sessions. UN resolutions contain demands that independence be granted to all people who are still under colonial rule.

To counter U.S. claims to undivided rule in Central America, the United Nations has adopted a position of support for the search for peaceful solutions which the Latin American countries are conducting on the basis of the "Contadora Initiative." The socialist countries in conjunction with the Nonaligned Movement are urgently posing questions of eradicating racism, the

apartheid policy and mass violations of human rights in Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala.

There have also been tangible changes in the Security Council in the main UN organ which is responsible for maintaining international peace and security. In spite of serious resistance from imperialist forces at the turn of the 80s, it was able to make a number of fundamentally important decisions. Among these are the introduction of economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, which opened the way toward the national liberation of the people of Zimbabwe, the adoption of a UN plan on granting independence to Namibia, the demand for an immediate withdrawal of Israel's Armed Forces from Lebanon and others.

Nevertheless, the activity of the Security Council cannot be said to be sufficiently effective. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the Western powers, which are sometimes forced to vote in support of useful, positive decisions of the council or at least not to obstruct their adoption, in practice sabotage these decisions and hinder their implementation. That is precisely the case with the basic resolution on granting independence to the people of Namibia, which was adopted as long ago as 1978. Having voted in favor of this resolution, for a number of years now the Western powers have hindered its implementation, refusing to support any coercive measures against the racist Pretoria regime. A similar picture formed around Resolutions 508 and 509 of the Security Council which were unanimously adopted in June 1982 and which demanded the "immediate and unconditional" withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. It may be recalled how many day, evening and night-time consultations lasting many hours were required before a situation was created in which Jean Kirkpatrick, then U.S. representative in the Council, was forced to support these two resolutions. However, no more than a few weeks had passed when the American delegation declared at the United Nations that these Security Council Resolutions had lost their relevance.

Both the representative of the Soviet Union and other states and the UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that the main reason for the insufficient effectiveness of the council, and consequently of the United Nations as a whole, should be sought in the Security Council's inability to take measures to ensure that its resolutions are implemented.

The Western countries, led by the United States, are increasingly frequently finding themselves in political isolation in the Security Council, as has happened in cases where the United States has been condemned for its aggression against Grenada and the interventionist actions aimed at Nicaragua, and also in discussions of the aggressive actions of Israel or the South African racists. In such cases the Western countries have repeatedly put their right of veto into action. Since 1970 the three members of the security council have used this right 77 times (the United States 45 times, Great Britain 21, and France 11 times). And since 1981, when the present administration came to power in Washington, the United States has sabotaged draft resolutions two times. During this period the Soviet Union used its right of veto only twice.



The course of the debates at UN General Assembly sessions in recent years and the orientation of its basic decisions show that deep concern is growing in the world in connection with the dangerous development of the international situation and the growing threat of nuclear war. These decisions also point with full certainty to the main way of turning these alarming tendencies back, which is the path of disarmament.

The organization, the main aim of which according to its charter is to preserve international peace and security, turned to face this most important question of the contemporary period as early as in the first years of its existence. The credit for this is due primarily to the Soviet Union. At the first general assembly session in October 1946 the delegation of the USSR put forward a proposal for a universal reduction and regulation of arms, including a ban on the production and use of nuclear energy for military purposes. It is also noteworthy that in its first resolution the General Assembly charged a specially created commission with the task of elaborating proposals, to be specific, on excluding nuclear weapons and all other basic types of weapons of mass destruction from national armories. And in subsequent years many of the Soviet Union's proposals on reducing the threat of war and on disarmament were at the center of attention at the United Nations. They were and still are the basis for discussion of a wide range of questions of the struggle for the prevention of war, primarily nuclear war, and for disarmament.

The peace program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and elaborated at subsequent congresses was of unfading significance in the cause of the struggle against the arms race. On the basis of it, the Soviet Union developed a broad diplomatic offensive at the United Nations. The memorandum on questions of halting the arms race and of disarmament, which was submitted in 1976 for discussion by the 31st UN General Assembly session, was an important document which generalized our country's initiatives of that time. The Soviet Union's proposals in the given sphere were concretized in detail in it. The task of eliminating the nuclear threat was in the foreground: The halting of the nuclear arms race, the shift to the liquidation of nuclear weapons, the banning of their testing and the strengthening of the policy of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Emphasis was simultaneously placed on the need to develop measures to limit and reduce armed forces and weapons of the conventional type. The importance of banning other existing types of weapons of mass destruction was stressed, in particular chemical weapons of mass destruction was stressed, in particular chemical weapons, and of preventing the development of new, even more lethal types of such weapons. A proposal for a reduction of military budgets was advanced as one of the long-term approaches to halting the arms race and to disarmament.

In recent years the Soviet Union has advanced such initiatives as the proposal for all states to simultaneously halt the production of nuclear weapons; the proposal to reach an agreement whereby alongside a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons for a definite period, a moratorium would be declared on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes; the proposal for mutual renunciation of the production of neutron weapons and others. These proposals have given



rise to great interest and have met with the support of the peace-loving public all over the world.

Striving to activate the negotiations on problems of disarmament and to involve a wide range of countries in them, the USSR and other states of the socialist community supported the proposal of the nonaligned movement for the convocation of a special UN General Assembly session on disarmament. At this session, which was held in 1978 and in which practically every state in the world participated, the Soviet Union submitted a broad program of realistic proposals which envisaged in particular a total halt to the quantitative and qualitative growth in the weapons and armed forces of states possessing large military potential, and thus the creation of conditions for a subsequent reduction of them.

The unilateral obligation of the war not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, which was announced in June 1982 from the rostrum of the second special UN General Assembly session on disarmament, was a step of exceptional importance. This action was an outstanding contribution to the struggle for the prevention of nuclear conflict, for the outlawing of nuclear weapons, for the halting of their production and for a gradual reduction in stocks until their total liquidation.

In connection with Washington's dangerous plans to extend the arms race into outer space, particular significance has recently been acquired by the problem of preventing the militarization of outer space. It is precisely to the Soviet Union that credit is due for drawing the world public's attention to this. As long ago as 1981 it raised the question of preventing the militarization of outer space and proposed a corresponding draft plan which was received with wide approval. Striving to make use of all opportunities to place practical barriers in the way of the transfer of the arms race into outer space, the USSR submitted a question at the 39th General Assembly session "On the Utilization of Outer Space for Exclusively Peaceful Purposes and for the Good of Mankind." A question "On International Cooperation in the Peaceful Conquest of Outer Space in Conditions of its Non-Militarization" was placed on the agenda of the 40th General Assembly session on the initiative of our country.

As a whole, the United Nations has adopted a considerable number of useful resolutions aimed at turning back the arms race, primarily in the nuclear sphere, and the number of these resolutions is rapidly growing. For example, at the 39th General Assembly session about one third of all adopted decisions were devoted to disarmament questions alone. All this serves as a graphic reflection of the growing concern of the majority of states with regard to the alarming situation in the world. The overwhelming majority of countries have expressed deep alarm from the UN rostrum, particularly in connection with the growth in the threat of nuclear war, which is a consequence of the arms race being wound up by the United States and its NATO allies in its most dangerous--nuclear--area.

In the course of the 39th General Assembly session a wide positive response was received by the appeal of the heads of state and government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden, at the heart of which was a call

for an end to the arms race. Many of those attending the session stressed the constructive position of the USSR, which was the first of the nuclear states to give a positive response to this peace-loving initiative. As the Soviet Union repeatedly stressed from the UN rostrum, it is convinced that it is now more necessary than ever before to engage in concrete, really tangible work to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, to prevent the arms race in outer space, to halt it on earth and to move over to disarmament, primarily in the nuclear sphere.

It stands to reason that it would be naive to suppose that UN General Assembly resolutions could in themselves change the international situation and put an end to the arms race, however many of them were adopted and however weighty they might be. Nevertheless, these resolutions, which are adopted by the majority and sometimes the overwhelming majority of votes, express the official positions of UN member-states. They serve as an important support in the struggle to preserve peace and save mankind from nuclear destruction which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are today conducting so persistently in conjunction with the planet's peace-loving forces. And when, as happened at the 39th General Assembly session, 150 UN member-states cast their vote in favor of preventing the militarization of outer space and only one state--the United States--refused to do this. This result of the vote serves as an impetus of considerable importance in this struggle. The same can be said about the situation which arose in the same session where the United States voted against 17 of the 27 resolutions adopted by the session and concerning some or other aspects of preventing nuclear war, and abstained from another six of them.

As experience shows, the struggle to preserve peace and to ensure universal security is a difficult task which requires more and more new efforts in order to make the United States and its closest allies, which are continuing to act as the pioneers in the arms race and are sabotaging disarmament, listen to the voice of the world's people who are demanding that urgent and decisive measures be taken to avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

The role of the United Nations is also of considerable importance in a number of other areas of its activity, areas concerning the interests of the widest range of states, both large and small. Thus, one of the United Nations' most important achievements in the economic sphere has been the development of progressive principles for the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. These principles are embodied in the Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and a number of other UN decisions approved by the General Assembly in 1974 on the initiative of the socialist and nonaligned countries. Their main orientation, which corresponds to the needs of the people of the entire world, is the development of mutually advantageous cooperation based on equal rights between all states, regardless of differences in their socioeconomic systems; the halting of all forms of exploitation and discrimination in world economics and trade; the inadmissibility of using economic ties as a means of political pressure; and the need for peaceful coexistence.

Thanks to the joint efforts of the socialist and liberated countries. In 1979 the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the start of so-called global negotiations at the United Nations with the aim of practical implementation of the tasks of reorganizing international economic relations. However, the imperialist states are continuing to do everything possible to preserve the system of neocolonial exploitation and to slow down the process of economic decolonization. And although these attempts meet with the condemnation of the overwhelming majority of UN member-countries, the global negotiations remain virtually blocked to this day.

The successful conclusion of the negotiations which have been conducted over many years between states in the course of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, and the adoption of an all-embracing treaty on the legal system of sea areas--the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea--should be regarded as a weighty achievement by the United Nations in solving a large-scale problem. As the result of complex negotiations and accords which take account of the interest of all groups of states and peoples, the convention solves the complex questions of the legal system of the seas and oceans in a single "package." The refusal of the United States and some of its allies to sign it speaks of the continuation of the same imperialist line of dividing and seizing sea areas and resources.

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Over the entire period of its existence, the United Nations' history has attested to the fact that under the influence of the process of world development, serious changes have occurred within it. The fact remains unaltered that two lines, two political courses, still continue to come into conflict there. The Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries and many states of Asia, Africa and Latin America conduct matters so as to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for peace and international cooperation, striving to make it reflect the real arrangement of forces in the world, act in accordance with the will of peoples and struggle against any policy of aggression and war. The intentions of the Soviet state and the majority of peace-loving countries are naturally directed primarily toward raising a real barrier to the threat of nuclear war, to the adventurist course of military superiority and toward attempts to dictate one's own will in international relations.

In submitting its proposals on the most vital questions for judgement by the world community--whether it is a question of preventing the militarization of outer space or one of condemning nuclear war or the policy of state terrorism--our country invariably demonstrates its adherence to the goals and principles of the UN Charter and shows respect for this universal international forum and an aspiration to find solutions to the most topical questions of the contemporary world.

The United States and some of its Western partners have a diametrically opposite line in their attitude to the United Nations. In recent years this line has been characterized by an aspiration to diminish the significance and role of the organization in solving acute international questions. It is possible to cite a considerable number of examples which show that what is

involved is precisely a long-term policy, and not individual cases. Let us recall at least 1983, when Washington blocked participation of the United Nations in regulating the situation which had arisen in Lebanon as a result of Israel's aggression. It was counted on that Israeli military, supported by the so-called "international" but to all intents and purposes American forces which were then created, would impose a pro-Israeli, pro-American regime on Lebanon. It was not, however, possible to make these calculations a reality. In Southern Africa the United States is continuing to ignore the Security Council's decisions on granting independence to Namibia, and with various behind-the-scenes maneuvers is striving to impose on that country a puppet regime which suits Pretoria. It also comes out against the Security Council and the General Assembly playing any role in safeguarding the sovereignty of Nicaragua, which has become the object of the aggressive actions of American imperialism. It would be easy to continue this enumeration.

It stands to reason that in Washington's line of imposing its own unilateral decisions on problems that arise, either simply no place is found for the United Nations or else it is apportioned the role of a training ground where methods of pressuring and intimidating the nonaligned countries are developed. Advancing no positive proposals, the United States tries, as a rule, with all its might to prevent this forum from making constructive decisions.

At the same time, in the United States and in the West as a whole there is no end to the campaign in which the mass information media and ultra-right "scientific" organizations are actively involved. In the capitals of certain Western states it has become fashionable to make groundless accusations of the United Nations' "lack of democracy," "tyranny of the majority" (meaning by this the coincidence of the positions of the socialist and nonaligned countries), "ineffectiveness," "helplessness," "uselessness," and so on. It is clear that behind all this lies irritation at the fact that the organization has ceased to be the obedient instrument of imperialism.

Be that as it may, it is not so simple to brush off decisions made in the United Nations by the overwhelming number of states. The words which the president spoke in 1983, saying that no UN decisions whatsoever "spoiled his appetite for breakfast," sound like empty bravado. But the matter is not confined to mere criticism. The American administration is advancing the ambitious task of changing the prevailing mood in the United Nations and of altering the correlation of forces in the hope of turning the United Nations back to the days when a loud shout from the American delegate's chair used to put many of those in the General Assembly or Security Council hall "in their places." Washington is trying to shake the very foundations of the United Nations, undermining the specialized institutions within its system. The United States left UNESCO under various invented pretexts, having made completely unacceptable, ultimatum-like demands on the other member-states, and it limits the movement of the UN workers. American diplomacy does not even shun such devices as the blackmailing of representatives of liberated countries and threats to apply sanctions in cases of refusal to vote at its prompting.

Of course, twisting the arms of representatives of the liberated countries is a normal occurrence for the imperialist states. But at the present time this

practice has reached its climax in its crudeness and lack of ceremony. The day after one more "reprimand" by the American delegation, some African delegations said with a bitter smile that their "arms still ached." Everyone remembers the case when Zimbabwe's representative in the Security Council refused to cast his vote in support of the provocative American version of the fate of the South Korean spy aircraft, after which his country was "severely punished" by a reduction of American "aid" by half. Moreover, the reason and nature of the "punishment" were publicly announced for the edification of others.

The number of this kind of cases has markedly increased recently, and not the least role in this is played by the circumstance that Washington has to all intents and purposes legalized the twisting of arms. In November 1983 the American Congress adopted a law which stipulated that after every General Assembly session the American delegation would report to Congress on the percentage of cases in which this or that country did not vote with the United States. These reports serve as references, as it were, which determine the "behavior" of the given country, and this is taken into account when the scale of American "aid" is determined.

In this situation some of the liberated countries display confusion or even compliance with regard to imperialist pressure, and also a readiness to sacrifice part of their sovereignty. This has a negative effect on the state of affairs in the United Nations. And nevertheless, many of these countries continue to act from active anti-imperialist positions, thus exerting a positive influence on the situation in the organization.

For many member-states of the United Nations the most important guideline is the strategic course of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, which openly unmask the machinations of the imperialist states and indicate alternatives to the arms race and international tension. The pivot of the Soviet approach is its deep conviction that a world without wars, weapons, and explosive international conflicts, and which excludes the use of force, is not a utopia but could really be achieved even in our time. Under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, Soviet diplomacy is actively operating in the direction of this noble goal, striving to make the peaceful coexistence and interaction of states--based on equal rights--regardless of their socioeconomic systems, become a universal law. This responsible approach is dictated by a concern for the future of mankind and for the ensuring of its sacred right to life.

Stressing the desirability of a return to the detente process and of filling it with new content, our country is setting guidelines which correspond to the aspirations of all peace-loving forces and of the overwhelming majority of UN member-countries. What is involved is a cardinal shift to a reliable and all-embracing system of international security, that is, the embodiment of the ideas laid down when the United Nations was founded.

The Soviet Union attaches an important role to the use and development of international institutions and mechanisms which would make it possible to find rational and thus also optimal solutions taking account of both the interest of individual countries, peoples and those of mankind as a whole. It is the

United Nations that should by right be the center for coordinating the actions of all states, great and small, nuclear and non-nuclear.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo's approval of the plan of events to mark UN Year (1985) and International Peace Year (1986) in the USSR is a reflection of the constructive attitude to the organization and to the experience of its 40-year existence.

Realistically evaluating the United Nations' place within the system of international relations it is possible to note with full justification that it has succeeded in solving the acute problems of the contemporary period in those cases where states have made joint efforts in order to achieve the organization's aims and have acted in accordance with the responsibility which they have assumed in the charter for the destiny of the present and future generations. As was stressed in M.S. Gorbachev's conversation with J. Perez de Cuellar, the Soviet Union, as a convinced opponent of solving controversial international questions through force, has always attached and continues to attach great significance to the United Nations as an effective instrument for peace, and is ready to undertake new steps in order that the just and democratic principles on which the United Nations was founded 40 years ago become firmly established in the practice of international relations. This approach has been and continues to be the general line of the Soviet state's participation in UN activity.

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## WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: INTENTION AND REALITY

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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Kovalev]

[Text] West European integration is one of the most important processes which determine the development of the global capitalist economy at the present time. The 10 members of the Common Market account for more than one-third of the output and some 50 percent of the total exports of the capitalist countries. The hopes of the bourgeois leaders of developing new instruments to stimulate economic growth and new ways of easing interimperialist contradictions are related to the development of international forms of state monopoly capitalism. Unquestionably, the very creation and activities of the Common Market are a manifestation of the process of internationalization of capitalist production and the needs of international financial capital.

Equal importance is ascribed to the European Economic Community in terms of the ideological concepts of monopoly capital. In V.I. Lenin's words, the very fact of its existence is aimed at "instilling the deeply erroneous thought, which pours grist in the mill of the defenders of imperialism, that the domination of financial capital reduces unevenness and contradictions within the global economy, whereas in fact it worsens them" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 392).

The practice of Western European integration most clearly and emphatically confirms Lenin's assessment, not only on the basis of its entire nearly 30-year old history but also of most recent events.

After the failures of the Athens (December 1983) and Brussels (March 1984) sessions of the council of ministers of the community, held on the level of heads of states and governments, and after difficult compromises adopted by the heads of EEC members in Fontainebleau and Dublin (June & December 1984) and subsequent to its meeting in Milan in June 1985, which, special hopes notwithstanding, ended in amorphous halfway decisions, essentially the international group found itself in a critical situation.

Britain's "budget war" against the community; difficult 7-year talks on conditions under which Spain and Portugal could join; the threat of Greece to

block all talks on expanding EEC membership unless programs for the development of the Mediterranean have been accepted; and uninterrupted "steel," "wine," "meat," "fish," "automobile," "textile" and other "wars" among the "ten," revealed all the weaknesses of the means for collective control available to it. The retreat of West European monopolies in the face of American and Japanese corporations in the most promising markets for science-intensive output; the growth of governmental indebtedness, consistent with the volumes of the GNP of EEC countries and, in many cases, superior to it; and an almost 14-million strong army of unemployed is a partial list of the major problems the solution of which could not be achieved through the system of supranational management of the community. Even the supporters of a "unified Europe" are forced "to acknowledge with realism and resignation" the fact that the community "has gone far astray from its initial objectives" (NEW YORK TIMES, 19 January 1984, p 1).

The characteristic of the current stage experienced by the EEC is that in 1985, for the first time in its life, the leaders of the "ten" are linking their hope of getting the group out of the crisis through exclusively political steps for, as F. Mitterrand, the French president, said, "Europe is not short of political will."

Indeed, after a 10-year discussion, the EEC members decided that as of 1 January 1985 an all-European passport would be introduced. Currently this passport is valid in only five of the countries and, naturally, is of a purely symbolic value.

After 7-year talks, on 29 March 1985 the birth of the "Europe of the Twelve" was proclaimed with great ceremony in Brussels; Spain and Portugal will join the community as of 1 January 1986. However, the actual, rather than "paper" joining will take place at the earliest in 7 years. Such is precisely the deadline set to abolish customs tariffs and quantitative foreign trade restrictions between the countries in the Iberian Peninsula and the "ten."

Finally, after 10 years of discussions by various groups and commissions, on 14 February 1984 the European Parliament approved "the most important document in its history;" a draft treaty on the European Union. In June 1984, the leaders of the "ten" passed a decision in Fountainebleau on setting up a special committee on this matter. One year later, in Milan they discussed the idea of new European institutions with "qualitatively new features" which the integration process is acquiring as a result of the establishment of this union and the dismantling of the European Economic Community as it stands now. According to the authors of the draft themselves, it is a question of the nature of the "new second generation Treaty of Rome."

A clearer definition of the depth of the crisis affecting the current structures of the community would be hard to imagine.

Internationalization of Capitalist Production and Collective 'Common Market' Control

The European Economic Community faced problems affecting the very principle governing its functioning. Let us emphasize that it is a question of the

principle of organizing an alliance among national imperialisms, for the erosion of the foundations on which it was to be built began in the 1960s, under the conditions of the cyclical economic upsurge of the members of the integrated group.

Let us bear in mind that the Treaty of Rome suggested to the member countries in the community a concept which was as tempting as it was risky. On the one hand, it called for improving the well-being of each country while, at the same time, limiting its responsibility for its own development. On the other, it called for bringing about a drastic change in the ratio of forces within the global capitalist economy, for the Treaty of Rome actually laid the foundations for a new system of West European division of labor by establishing an entire arsenal of means of state-monopoly integration aimed at ensuring "European growth," creating "European companies" and "European structures" (legal, political, etc.) and even formulating a "European consciousness." The hope that "if a person is forced to become a European he will become one" was considered entirely realistic in the first years which followed the appearance of the EEC.

Today increasingly lesser attention is being paid to the plans for accelerated Europeanization within the EEC itself. The reason for this is hardly the unwillingness of the British or Italians to call themselves Europeans. It is that the principle of interdependence, not to mention the community of interests on which the international alliance of the 10 West European countries is based, can be attained under the real conditions of capitalism only in a most conflicting manner. This drastically worsens the means of struggle as a result of which relations of subordination and diktat are established, replacing the "pious wish" of creating relations of harmonious interdependence.

From this angle of looking at the forms assumed by the internationalization of economic activities of the international organization of West European countries, the following conclusions may be drawn.

The establishment of the EEC began in the first half of the 1950s. During that time the process of internationalization assumed the aspect of internationalization of trade. Priority in foreign economic relations among countries was assigned to exporting finished products, while capital and manpower shifted above all within national boundaries. Under these circumstances, domestic production retained its own sovereign nature, so to say, and the state was the main booster of internationalization.

The internationalization of trade creates the necessary prerequisites for the development of a new, a more complex form of international unification of capital--production internationalization. This process, the indicators of which were the establishment of branches of national monopolies abroad, developed most intensively in the 1960s. In this connection national output gradually lost its inherent "sovereignty." In terms of the Common Market, this was a "transitional period" during which the growth of economic homogeneity of the group was to be encouraged through standardization of the customs-trade and taxation systems and the smoothing over of internal political quarrels.

In the 1970s West European monopoly capital began actively to resort to the strategy of granting independence to its foreign branches, thus giving them not only industrial but also legal autonomy. A group consisting of relatively independent capital funds, controlled by a single center, became a typical form of monopoly association. The flexible, diversified and autonomous groups, i.e., groups controlling either the entire technological process or a considerable share of it, became the boosters of the internationalization process. The features of the development of such groups (scale and geographic latitude of capital investments, significant need for capitalization, need to control large and frequently poorly interrelated markets, etc.) objectively encouraged the formation of new associations or so-called financial complexes. The management process of such associations is even more indirect, which leads, according to the definition of French economist B. Bellon, to the further "alienation of the production process from decision making centers" (B. Bellon, "Finansovyy Kapital i Promyshlennost v Frantsii" [Financial Capital and Industry in France]. Progress, Moscow, 1983, p 152).

It is precisely such groups (complexes) that have currently taken over production and export of commodities and capital. Currently the 2,000 such associations account for 75 percent of global capitalist output; two of them account for 55 percent of the GNP of the Netherlands; in France 20 such groups account for about 90 percent of the entire amount of the country's operations abroad. Monopolies have appeared in which the concept of domestic production has essentially disappeared.

Therefore, in the course of its internationalization, domestic production loses not only its dominant "sovereign" but also its autonomous significance. Furthermore, the development of new forms of monopoly associations leads to the gradual elimination of the previously existing similarity between national production and national control and to widening the gap between domestic production and domestic management on the level of the entire economy and on the scale of its individual sectors and production facilities. This means that a decision relative to the development of the Canadian economy, European electronics or French information-computer equipment (taking as an example the most significant cases of domination of foreign capital) clearly depends less on national authorities than it does on the intracompany policy of a foreign monopoly. This gap is a qualitatively new aspect in the process of capitalist economic internationalization.

Consequently, the economic (and not only economic) power and independence of the individual countries become dependent on the market power of national groups and are largely determined currently by the quantity and dispersal of decision making centers controlled by national capital, the itineraries of their shifting, their stability in the international competition struggle, etc. In other words, under the conditions of the existence of such independent centers, competition among groups inevitably turns into confrontation among individual countries or groups of countries. Under those circumstances, the creation of a community would be nothing other than the establishment of a political and economic decision-making center, independent of any EEC member, whereas the process of capitalist economic internationalization itself has not reached the necessary degree of maturity this requires.

## Monopoly and Rivalry in the West European Integration Process

By virtue of its very nature, the full-blooded functioning of the Brussels center would affect the "holy of holies" of meanwhile well-protected national economic complexes and deprive the national states of means of controlling their own economic development. That is why the aggravation of international competition became a natural consequence of the establishment of the EEC. Actually, the rivalry among national capitalisms under the conditions of the existence of an external political and economic center puts the country in the same situation as an enterprise facing intersectorial competition, for any attempt at opening national markets, any step leading to free trade leads to a direct clash between the national and the international value of a commodity. In the case of the individual countries, accepting such rules of the game would mean loss of economic independence.

In his study of the laws governing the shaping of the international specialization of individual countries under the conditions of a free movement of commodities, K. Marx noted the following: "We are told, for example, that free trade would create an international division of labor and thus establish a type of production consistent with the natural advantages of the individual countries.

"You are perhaps assuming, gentlemen, that the production of coffee and sugar is the natural vocation of the West Indies" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 417).

The same type of dependency relations which had developed in the past between mother country and colony (as Marx proved with the example of the West Indies), are already developing among imperialist countries with the advent of the stage of internationalization of the capitalist economy, related to the dynamics of decision making centers.

In precisely the same way that coffee and sugar were the products of the West Indies, today we have Japan with automobiles, household electrical engineering and electronic appliances, FRG with machine tool building and the latest chemical developments, and United States with computers and aerospace industry. The struggle for seizure and domination and for being able to compete on the most profitable global markets and abandoning unprofitable domestic production specialization is being waged by the monopoly groups with the help of the entire arsenal of the state-monopoly apparatus.

It is not astounding that in this case the competition itself assumes a qualitatively different nature, for a number of factors operating outside the capitalist production process become included in international rivalry: state sovereignty, the military-political weight of the country, extent of state control of the economy, political stability and many others. Therefore, the national boundaries themselves become an important instrument in private monopoly confrontation. The same type of barriers which, according to Marx, prevent capitalist rivalry from lowering the value to the level of production cost make their appearance (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 25, Part 2, p 321). Monopolies which engage in international trade, i.e., which sell domestic goods according to their international value, acquire the possibility

of extracting additional profits. The use by the state of noneconomic means for preserving such profits could turn them into an annuity: "...if capital encounters an alien force which it can surmount either partially or not at all..., it is obvious that in such production areas, thanks to the fact that the commodity value is higher than the production price, additional profits appear, which could become an annuity and, as such, separate themselves from the profit" (ibid.).

The national legislation, norms and means of support of national monopolies and discrimination against foreign monopolies can lead to the development of a great variety of "climatic condition" for the establishment and strengthening of those same "natural advantages" which are at the base of the establishment of a differentiated and a monopoly annuity. As a result of international competition, such annuity assumes the nature of customs fees which the monopolies must pay to rivaling countries in order to achieve equal conditions in the economic competition.

Let us sum up a few results.

The creation of the EEC was an attempt to achieve the deliberate shifting of political and economic decision-making centers under conditions in which, in the course of the internationalization of capital, no objective prerequisites had been created for the implementation of such efforts: industrial groups had not become the basic form of monopoly associations and the separation of domestic production from domestic management had not become widespread.

The Treaty of Rome brought to life two mutually exclusive trends: on the one hand, the proclamation of the "freedom of movement of commodities and capitals" within the integrated group strengthened within the members of the community the desire to protect themselves from subordination and to erect foreign economic barriers which would ensure their independent development. On the other, as a result of the creation of the EEC conditions appeared for the establishment of a uniform juridical and economic climate for all members of the community.

It is precisely these contradictions, which were inserted into the very foundations of West European integration, that actually paralyzed the effect of the institutions of the community and led to stagnation in all areas of its unified policy. "Europe is not working," people in Brussels are now forced to admit, "or else at best, it no longer works" (REVUE DU MARCHE COMMUN, No 276, 1984, p 510).

#### Doctrinal and Practical Conflicts

From the very beginning a rigid hierarchy was established among EEC countries, based on their international specialization. The Netherlands, Britain, the FRG and, partially, France are confidently leading in the production of technologically advanced goods and services which require highly skilled manpower. Conversely, Italy, Belgium, Denmark and Greece are specializing above all in commodities based on the use of medium- and low-skilled manpower (they will be joined by Spain and Portugal as of 1 January 1986).<sup>1</sup>



This hierarchy, which has lasted for the entire 28 years of EEC life, eloquently proves the failure of the attempts to establish a "homogenous European space." Furthermore, the EEC helped to strengthen international specialization and the subordinate status of many of its members. Within it the processes of capital internationalization developed unevenly and are not being equalized in the least, as the creators of the "single Europe" expected.<sup>2</sup>

Considerable gaps in per capita production and income remain within the EEC. They intensified drastically after the enlargement of the community (by a factor of 2-3 or, in some cases, even 4-6 among individual countries and regions).

To this day the initial objective of the EEC--"the creation of a single market"--has not been attained: for example, the same model car may be 30 percent more expensive in England than in Belgium; the West Germans may pay for the same type of video equipment 20 percent more than the Dutch. Nor has nonprice discrimination lost its significance. The practice of placing state orders primarily among the national monopolies of the members of the community alone costs the members of the community as much as 90 billion marks annually; annual outlays of West European companies related to border control within the EEC total 36 billion marks, etc. Nor have pinpricks been avoided: to this day, in order to block undesirable competition the FRG has a so-called "law on beer purity," which was passed in the 16th century; the Irish authorities demand that all labeling of imported furniture be in the Gaelic language, etc. "The building of a single market.... must be started from scratch." This conclusion drawn by the community experts is a most realistic assessment of the results of the unified competition policy of the EEC.

Although articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty of Rome proclaimed individual or collective anticompetition, i.e., monopoly practices, "incompatible" with EEC principles and, therefore, illegal, the entire subsequent development of events followed an entirely different direction. Through a series of intermediary measures, ignoring casuistic stipulations, monopoly practices were actually legalized in 1972-1973; in 1977, the Commission on European Communities implemented the principle of "legalizing" anticompetition measures in crisis sectors. Nor is EEC "competition policy" reflected in the activities of the copper cartel, the cartels producing steel pipes, nitrogen fertilizers, artificial fibers, electric and telephone wiring, etc. Actually, internationalization has converted into its opposite under the conditions of the contemporary production stage.

Industrial control in the community is experiencing major difficulties as well. It has found national barriers insurmountable. The fact itself is indicative that the EEC members have been able to agree on joint actions only in critical sectors, the situation in which required immediate intervention, such as the steel, textile and shipbuilding industries.

What have the results of such collective intervention been? Let us take as an example the first attempt at centralized industrial restructuring, which was undertaken by the community in the area of ferrous metallurgy. Ever since its "rationalization" was undertaken in Brussels, sectorial output dropped 18

percent, the EEC share of the world steel market dropped by 4 percent, the number of unemployed metallurgical workers increased by 200 thousand and the level of capacity utilization declined by 25 percent.

Furthermore, the author of the "steel program"--the Commission on European Communities--was forced in 1982 to file suit in the community court against countries which provided protectionist support of their national ferrous metallurgy: France, Belgium, the FRG and Italy. In other words, the EEC countries reacted to the very initial attempt at supranational control of industrial output with an unparalleled growth of economic chauvinism, reemphasizing the entire illusory nature of hopes for a "single Europe."

Problems of financing regional policies are also being peculiarly resolved by the EEC; the principles governing the establishment of regional development budgets for the 1980s called for the needy themselves to pay for their own regional programs. In other words, the individual countries must try to cope with their own problems. This problem has remained unresolved throughout the entire EEC life. According to J. Craux, the former head of the regional policy department of the community, "the community's economic growth... is inconsistent with the optimal location of economic resources."

Major difficulties are being experienced in an area considered "most satisfactory" or, at least, most developed within the EEC: agricultural policy. Initially, the "war of sovereignties," which broke out in 1982 between Britain and the other EEC members on the subject of setting new prices for agricultural commodities, nudged the group to the brink of "unparalleled crisis," according to the views of Western commentators. For the first time since 1966 the supranational EEC authorities resolved such an important problem through simple majority vote. This was no bare formality. A return to the voting procedure which was characteristic of the very beginning of the integration process was an acknowledgment of the inefficiency of the existing system of supranational control within the community as well as an incentive for a new outbreak of conflicts within the EEC. By setting production quotas, the common market agricultural policy is making an effort to shift competition from the commodity to the manpower market. As a result, starting with 1970, one farm job has been lost every two minutes within EEC agriculture. The highest level of unemployment in the community is found precisely in the farming areas.

EEC agriculture is the area where the most barbaric methods are being used by the monopolies to maintain their profit level; destruction of farm products and cattle, and inflicting deliberate "casualties" to the land. Indeed, prices of agricultural commodities are rising steadily (at the beginning of the 1980s their annual growth rates never dropped below the 10 percent level), while the price policy pursued by the community leads to ever increasing gaps in the income levels of the different farming areas.

One can only add that the agricultural topic is a matter of particular concern today, on the eve of granting EEC membership to Spain and Portugal. Among others, this will mean that the area of arable land in the EEC and the number of farms will more than double compared with the number of consumers.

## From EEC to West European Union

Today, in the mid 1980s, the leaders of EEC countries are trying to forget the fact that it was precisely this period that was considered by the authors of the Treaty of Rome as "the very last" in the creation of a "global union" among the members of the community, which would encompass all areas of cooperation--customs-trade, monetary-economic and sociopolitical.

It has become absolutely clear now that the integration group has failed to reach its main objective: the creation of an independent political and economic West European center based on a limited number of national imperialisms. Conversely, at the present time the so-called level of economic dependency of EEC countries is several hundred percent higher than the corresponding level of the United States. Thus, the extent of penetration of foreign capital in the U.S. economy is lower by a factor of 3.5 compared to the FRG, two compared to Britain and five compared to France. The American corporations clearly prefer relations of dependency based on their own strength, compared to the notorious interdependency, by promoting a clearly expressed line of investing capital primarily in Western Europe: whereas in 1958 (the year the EEC was founded) no more than seven percent of direct foreign investments were reaching the members of the community, by 1980 the share had increased to 36 percent. Let us emphasize that it is a question of investments which ensure control over foreign manufacturing.

Furthermore, the United States charted a course of producing technologically intensive items, substantially outstripping the EEC in this area. At the beginning of the 1980s exports of science-intensive commodities by U.S. corporations totaled \$33 billion, whereas the bulk of U.S. imports consisted of energy carriers and consumer goods. Whereas in the community one-third of exports consists of noncapital-intensive commodities, involving underskilled labor, the corresponding share in the United States is nine percent. In Western Europe American capital holds dominating positions in the production of computers and computing systems, communications facilities, precision and agricultural machine building, pharmaceuticals and new chemical products, petrochemistry and industrial rubber industries, airplane manufacturing and armament production.

"We are dependent on America in the areas of defense, currency, markets, and everything else, including blue jeans and student demonstrations...", wrote J.-F. Deneux, member of the Commission on European Communities. "We should have the right, therefore, to elect the president of the United States"(!). Hiding behind this paradox is an entirely realistic and quite clear thought: the United States has always been and remains the "silent member" of the EEC, wielding substantial power within it.

The EEC members continuously come across the open or concealed interference of the United States even in matters which seemingly affect strictly domestic problems, such as politics. Thus, it now has become entirely obvious that NATO considered EEC membership for Spain a major step in the further involvement of that country in this military-strategic bloc.

Here is another equally substantial example. During the recent meetings and conferences held by the leaders of the members of the community, the question of the attitude toward U.S. attempts to ensure the participation of these countries in programs related to the "Strategic Defense Initiative," under the pretext of "helping" to eliminate Europe's technological lagging, was discussed in detail. Once again efforts are being made to force economic Europe to serve political Europe, or more specifically, to serve pro-American Europe.

By the end of the 1970s that same "Eurocrat" J.-F. Deneux, wrote: "The closer we study the long term objectives of the community the more doubtful we become. The creation of purely European industrial structures, the development of a feeling of solidarity and elements of homogeneity and political stability are all absent and nothing allows us to become optimistic on this count...."

The development of intergovernmental relations within the EEC and beyond it and the aggravation of the problem of sovereignty of decision making raised with new emphasis the question of the future development of the entire group and the taking of urgent steps to resolve the situation; they stimulated the understanding that with the fierce pressure exerted on the "ten" it is hardly possible for the individual countries to find a solution. It was no accident that today the EEC leaders remind the citizens of "unified Europe" more frequently than usual of the "utopian nature of views according to which the members of the community, acting alone, could play a certain role not only in terms of the superpowers but the other big countries as well."

That is why between the end of 1984 and beginning of 1985, the community leaders were forced to take a number of steps to prove the existence of unity within the group and raise as a primary topic for discussion on a high level changing the structure and functions of the "unified Europe" institutions and the decision-making procedures in the community. The main purpose of the campaign, which was officially launched on 14 February 1984, when the European Parliament approved a report on the EEC reform, was the creation of a West European union to replace the European Economic Community.

What does the idea of the West European union imply?

First of all, the purpose of the union is to replace the community. It is assumed that its members would not necessarily become members of the EEC. The union treaty would become effective after ratification by the majority of the members of the community, representing no less than two thirds of its population. This would be followed by establishing relations among the members of the new and old groups.

Second, the West European union would eliminate the rule of unanimous vote in decision making; a two-third majority would suffice in approving any step within the framework of already existing accords. The veto right, unbreakable in the EEC, would become invalid in the union 10 years later and would have to be substantiated by proving that it is invoked for the "vital interests of the nation."

Third, the role of EEC institutions would change. The European Parliament would be given extensive rights in the allocation of resources and formulating the group's foreign policy line. The Commission on European Communities would become more independent of the council of ministers which, in turn, would become a supranational authority which could make decisions on behalf of "all citizens of Europe." In all cases, community rather than national law would prevail in the new organization.

In addition to such means of bringing the EEC closer to the West European union, its creators also call for establishing a European currency unit as the official currency of the new group and abolishing national non-price competition barriers; other questions have been raised, such as writing an anthem and designing a flag for the alliance, setting up combined West European sports teams, etc. Briefly stated, the ideas which were the platform for the creation of the European Economic Community in 1957 are now being laid as the foundations for the West European union.

However, in addition to general features, two very serious differences exist between the 1957 and 1959 approaches to the shaping of integration groups.

The new approach relies mainly on the establishment of a political infrastructure in the union. By this method the authors of the draft "new Treaty of Rome" have tried to avoid the failures in economic cooperation, which plagued the EEC throughout its history, and to profit from the political homogeneity of the "ten."

Second, the idea of a West European union is a return to the concept of a single political and economic center developed under different circumstances: currently decision making centers in EEC countries are moving to the private monopoly level. In other words, an objective foundation is developing or has already appeared for shifting them to the state-monopoly level as well, which did not exist in 1957.

In this manner, despite the entire contradictory nature of the concept of such a union,<sup>3</sup> it clearly reveals the objective determined above all by political considerations and attainable above all through political means: the establishment of an independent West European center.

As we saw, the movement and gravitation toward this target are dictated not only by the internal needs of the EEC and its members, but also by the broader requirements of contemporary global economic and scientific and technical development. The role which peaceful and equal economic cooperation plays from the viewpoint of global politics is becoming increasingly greater and important.

More than 60 years have passed since, in answering questions asked by a foreign correspondent concerning the attitude of Soviet Russia toward the conflict between two West European countries, Lenin said: "We believe that the interests shared by England and France, in as much as they affect Russia, in no case include elements of inevitable hostility between England and France. On the contrary, we even think that peaceful and friendly relations between these powers and Russia are one of the guarantees (I could almost say



the strongest possible guarantee) of the fact that peace and friendship between England and France will continue for a long time and that any differences between France and England, which are possible and likely under present-day conditions, will have a quick and, most likely, a happy, outcome" (op. cit., vol 45, p 238).

Lenin's thought remains relevant. Practical experience unquestionably proves that, as a whole, the EEC and its individual members in much link their hopes to opposing external, above all, American pressure and to strengthening their regional division of labor with extensive development of international cooperation. They are showing an interest in broadening relations with the economies of the USSR and the other socialist countries. As the final document issued at the Dublin meeting states, they intend "to continue their constructive global and realistic dialogue with the USSR and the other countries in Eastern and Central Europe."

EEC interest in establishing relations with CEMA of a "new constructive, open type... a prerequisite for future possible specific cooperation" was revealed during the visit which Italian prime minister B. Craxi, who was acting as chairman of the council of ministers of the community, paid to Moscow in the first half of 1985 and the results of his talks with M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

During his meeting with French parliamentarians, on 3 October 1985, M. S. Gorbachev once again emphasized that "the political climate in Europe greatly depends on the development of economic relations between West and East.

"...We also consider useful the establishment of more business relations between CEMA and the EEC. In this respect, the members of CEMA have displayed a constructive initiative, which was given a cordial reception. It is important for it to yield specific results. As has been pointed out, to the extent to which the EEC countries act as a 'political unit' we are ready to find a common language with them on specific international problems. This could be accomplished in a variety of ways, including with members of the European Parliament."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For example, the indicator of specialization in British industry in high-skill capital-intensive production is double the corresponding indicator in Italian industry, 50 percent higher than that of Denmark, etc.; a similar industrial specialization indicator in the FRG is more than double that of Denmark and Belgium and 70 percent higher than that of Italy. In turn, in production facilities requiring unskilled manpower, Italian industry is twice as specialized as that of West Germany, 80 percent higher than that of France and 60 percent that of the Netherlands.
2. The EEC actually forced Italy to undertake labor-intensive production, in which competition with developing countries is particularly strong. Actually, Italy accounts for no more than 4 percent of skilled labor output, or one-sixth of its unskilled labor output. Let us add to this



the long regional crisis and the decline of the southern area of the country, which was accelerated precisely after Italy joined the community, and the fact that the lowest EEC income is in Calabria; this clearly indicates that the process of capital internationalization has not reached its most mature forms within the EEC in this area.

3. In particular, it does not eliminate the entire gravity of the problem of developing a uniform economic policy, American (and Japanese) penetration of West European markets, relations between members of the union and the community, etc.

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## NEW BOLD INITIATIVES, FRUITFUL DIALOGUE

AU060947 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15 (signed to press 17 Oct 85) pp 107-108

[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] The official visit of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to France was an event of paramount importance in international life these days and a striking and convincing testimony of the unwavering will of our party and our state to preserve and consolidate peace, stop the arms race, and develop peaceful cooperation between countries and peoples.

To fully assess the weighty importance of what has been achieved as a result of the Soviet-French talks and meetings held in Paris from 2 to 5 October it is necessary, first and foremost, to consider the results of the visit in the context of the most acute and urgent needs of the contemporary period. The present responsible period in international relations demands that each and everyone and especially the leaders of leading powers clearly recognize the extraordinary nature of the danger hanging over the world in the event of the further spiraling of the arms race and its transfer to outer space. It demands a bold appraisal of the situation unhindered by the blinkers of yesterday's views, a new view of things, and a new approach to the problems on the solution of which the security of mankind depends. The realities of the present period are such that a better and safer world can be built only with joint efforts of all and that only in this way can progress be ensured and a recovery of the international situation achieved. And in this connection it is an active political dialogue between the states with different social systems that can provide the stimulus for joint efforts and represent the motive force of such efforts.

The special significance of the Soviet-French dialogue at the highest level was due to the circumstance that, already for a decade now, precisely this kind of a dialogue between our two countries has been absent as an important factor from the realities in Europe and the world. The tradition, historically developed, of discussions on acute and vitally important problems by the political leaderships of the two states during difficult periods of international development, as well as, in many instances, of their joint search for solutions for these problems, have yielded good results more than

once in the past. As experience shows, the Soviet Union and France possess serious potential for purposefully influencing the situation in Europe and beyond it. And in the present complicated and dangerous situation they have possibilities for joint or parallel actions in the interest of both countries as well as in the interest of other peoples.

Hence that great importance which, as the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted, having reviewed the visit's results, the visit has for strengthening European security, widening general European cooperation, and improving the international situation.

While there were clear differences on some or other specific questions, the Paris meetings revealed a joint understanding of the need to make efforts to eliminate the threat of war hanging over the world and it became clearer what paths should be followed to normalize the situation, curb the arms race, and eliminate the nuclear danger. The negotiations confirmed the similarity between the approaches of the two states to such a paramount task as that of preventing the arms race in outer space. A similarity of views was also noted on a broad complex of European affairs and, first and foremost, on the question of continuing and intensifying the all-European process initiated 10 years ago in Helsinki. The results of discussions on the question of bilateral relations -- be it the economic ties or the traditional cultural exchanges scientific-technological cooperation, and so forth -- make it possible to hope for their activation in many areas and for a further development of friendly relations between the two countries. Supplementing the established procedure of consultations on foreign policy problems, the USSR and France are again returning to the practice of regular meetings at the highest level.

The significance of the present talks in Paris extends far beyond the limits of bilateral relations. This is the unanimous view of the international public, as the reaction to the visit shows. And what is involved here is not only and not as much the substance of the achieved mutual understanding on specific issues. What is involved is something considerably greater.

The intensive exchange of views in the French capital, the ideas and views on the state of affairs in the world and the tasks emanating from this as put forward by the Soviet side, and the USSR's new peaceful initiatives announced during the visit can be compared to a powerful whiff of fresh air dispersing the smog [English term used] of mistrust toward the words and deeds of the Soviet Union, intensively promoted by certain Western circles, the smog of mistrust toward and malicious slanders against the peace-loving policy of real socialism. Despite all their wishes, today these circles are in no position to belittle the principled significance -- for the struggle for the recovery of the situation -- of the innovative approach of the CPSU and the Soviet state to the most important problems of contemporary period and their solutions, the approach demonstrated during the visit, and of the large-scale program of actions put forward by Moscow to strengthen general security, confidence, and cooperation.

Addressing the working people of the Land of the Soviets soon after the victory of the Great October Revolution, Lenin said "...We promise the workers

and peasants to do everything for peace." And we will do it." (Complete Collected Works, vol 36, p 343) During all the subsequent decades, our party has invariably remained true to this solemn pledge. And in the present international situation, too, Lenin's words are concretely embodied in the party's concern for the very future of all peoples and its firm determination to exhaust all possibilities to preserve and consolidate peace.

What is involved now is the need to rethink the set concepts that contradict the demands of the new age and of bringing many customary approaches, including those in the military and political spheres, into complete accord with the realities of the contemporary period. This is difficult and it cannot be achieved at once, but there is no other way to preserve life on earth. As M.S. Gorbachev pointed out at his meeting with the French parliamentarians, this rethinking has been started by the Soviet Union. However, the essence of international relations demands that the other side, too, walks its part of the way. The process of militarization of political consciousness in the West, leading to an absolute blind alley of confrontation, must be opposed with a psychological restructuring and political will to change the situation for the better. To survive, the peoples must learn to live together without transferring their ideological differences to interstate relation, and to consider the interests of one another.

Acquainting themselves with the public statements of the high Soviet visitor made it possible for Western political figures and the broad public circles to obtain what is called firsthand knowledge about the peace-loving aspirations of the Soviet people and to become convinced in the absence among the Soviet people of any fatalistic notions about the inevitability of war. They have found and continue to find an obvious and indisputable confirmation of the Soviet state's firm determination to overcome the barriers erected on the path to peace in the steps already taken by the Soviet state and aimed at facilitating the achievement of accords on the questions of stopping the arms race on earth and preventing it in outer space. The new major initiatives announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the meeting with the French parliamentarians are aimed at preventing the militarization of outer space and decidedly reducing nuclear weapons while preserving the strategic parity and have been assessed in a worthy manner by the world public and press as steps that show the real ways of stopping the "infernal train" of the arms race and as an action that opens up the possibility for turning toward a radical recovery of international relations and the strengthening of general security.

Many observers have noted that the USSR wants the West European countries to take up a corresponding position on the key issues of war and peace and to demonstrate their independence. M.S. Gorbachev emphasized: "No one can allow himself to sit on the sidelines." At the same time, he resolutely rejected the speculations by the pro-Atlanticist propagandists that the Soviet Union allegedly intends to "drive a wedge" in the relations between Western Europe and the United States. The ideas and proposals put forward during the visit and concerning both the military and the political problems of the continent proceed from a recognition of the importance of activating the role of the European states in solving the planet's common task of consolidation of peace and in the cause of ensuring European security. It is justly claimed that

general peace especially depends on the situation in Europe. But it is equally just to also say that the European continent is vulnerable as no other continent in the face of an armed conflict and especially a nuclear conflict. At the same time, in the situation that has developed, European security cannot be ensured by military means. This is that new element that life has introduced in the question of the future of peoples of the continent. Security in Europe and international security in general can only be achieved along the path of peaceful coexistence, relations of tension, disarmament, strengthening of confidence, and development of international cooperation.

As the results of the Soviet-French meeting at the highest level show, a constructive and bold approach to the present complex situation in the world produces positive results. It has become obvious that, regardless of all obstacles raised by its enemy, a judicious beginning can blaze its path into international relations and also win to its side the more far-sighted responsible figures in Western countries. The results of the visit indicate dialogue that is so greatly needed now. They show an intensification of aspirations to a full revival of the process of detente as a counterweight to confrontation and in this connection Europe is once again taking the initiative. It now depends on the West and on the extent to which the real meaning of the Paris dialogue will be adequately evaluated in its capitals whether these health tendencies will be further developed in the coming weeks and months.

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## CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### UNITY OF ACTION, FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION AND CRITICISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 85 (signed to press 17 Oct 85) pp 109-118

[Review by Ye. Bugayev, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "V. I. Lenin ob Organizatsionno-Partiynoy Rabote" [V. I. Lenin on Organizational-Party Work]. In 4 volumes. Vol 2. "Democratic Centralism. Intraparty relations." Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 415 pp]

[Text] The accountability and election campaign is the broadest, general party and, bearing in mind the role which the CPSU plays in our society and in the activities of all state and social organizations and labor collectives, a nationwide arena in which the ideological and political maturity of party organizations and leading personnel and their readiness and ability to be most strictly guided by the Leninist principles of party life and requirements of the CPSU Program and bylaws, are tested.

It is precisely at the start of the accountability and election conferences held in party groups and shop and primary organizations that the party aktiv has been given a book which contains the richest possible materials which describe the content of the basic principle of the party's organizational structure and the most essential aspects of intraparty relations. Presented in chronological order, V. I. Lenin's statements and the party's documents give every party member, regardless of his position, the richest possible food for thought, encouraged by the tremendous (and not only positive) experience acquired by the party and reflected in the book. Turning to this experience is important not only because ignorance of it sometimes forces some workers to "reinvent the bicycle," but also because it enables us to see, to realize more profoundly the closest possible link existing between the party forms of organization and methods of work and the specific conditions under which the party acts at any given time and the problems it must resolve within specific historical circumstances. A turn to the experience of the past enables us to resolve more successfully the problems of the present and the future.

The comprehensive process of party development takes place in the course of the unity and struggle of opposites, reflecting the real contradictions in social life. F. Engels himself had noted that "Obviously, any worker party of a large country can develop only in the course of an internal struggle which



is fully consistent with the general laws of dialectical developemnt" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 35, p 312). The collection's materials convincingly prove the accuracy of this remark.

Before the victory of the socialist revolution and during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, when the "who-whom" question was being answered, some contradictions (nonantagonistic) within the party were being resolved by convincing those who had made honest mistakes or by exposing and expelling from the party groups, factions and individuals, who had played in its ranks the role of promoters of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideology. After the complete victory of socialism, antagonistic contradictions yielded to contradictions within the framework of a single communist outlook which reflected different views on specific problems dealing with specific problems of theory and practice in the course of progress toward a single goal. Such contradictions are resolved in the course of comradely, albeit occasionally sharp, discussions and mostly in the course of practical activities through which the accuracy of theoretical postulates and the efficiency of organizational means and methods of party work are verified. Naturally, this does not eliminate the need to purge the party from unsuitable people, and even more so of people with unseemly behavior who, however, unlike in the past, are not backed by classes or social forces hostile to socialism.

To this day, the resolution passed at the 10th RKP(b) Congress "On Problems of Party Construction," excerpts of which are included in this book, has not lost even an iota of its principal relevance. The first part of this resolution states as follows:

"1. The party of revolutionary Marxism radically rejects the search for an absolutely accurate method of party organization, suitable for all stages of the revolutionary process, as well as its work methods. On the contrary, the form of organization and work methods are entirely determined by the features of a specific historical circumstance and the tasks directly stemming from this circumstance.

"2. It is clear, from this viewpoint, that any organizational form and corresponding work methods could, given changes in the objective conditions in the development of the revolution, turn from forms of development of this party organization into chains blocking this development; conversely, an unsuitable organizational form could once again become necessary and exclusively expedient should respective objective circumstances reappear.

"3. Contradictions between the requirements of the newly developing situation, on the one hand, and the established forms of work organization and methods, on the other, must be identified in general before the need for a change in course becomes definitely required. The course must be changed only when the task formulated by the previous type of organization and its corresponding work method has been implemented in its essential and basic lines...." (p 181).

These thoughts become particularly relevant precisely today, during the period of preparations for the 27th congress, when the party is checking the

activities of all its units and the efficiency of old and vitality of new work means and methods.

What are the principles on which the revolutionary worker party of a new type was and is being built? Lenin, its founder, tirelessly explained that such a party must have a strong ideological base, which could only be Marxism. However, ideological unity alone does not make a party. The working class could promote from within its own ranks or draw over to its side from other social strata people who know and accept the revolutionary scientific theory and are inspired by the communist ideal but whose knowledge, aspirations and convictions would be useless without organization.

The excerpts of works written by Lenin by the turn of the century, included in the book, provide a clear idea of the scope of his gigantic activities to unite the Russian social democrats within a political party. He explained that the organization of revolutionary forces and their disciplining and development of revolutionary techniques were impossible "without the collective formulation of certain forms and rules of acting and without establishing--though a central authority--the responsibility of every party member to the entire party" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 191).

Democratic centralism is the name given to the leading principle governing the organizational party structure. It means electiveness of all party leading organs, from top to bottom; periodical accountability of party bodies to their party organizations and to superior bodies; strict party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority; the strictly mandatory obedience by subordinate bodies to decisions made by superior bodies.

Democractic centralism is not the mechanical combination of two different principles but two sides of a single entity. "In our press we always defend intraparty democracy," Lenin wrote. "However, we never object to the centralization of the party. We are in favor of democratic centralism" (vol 27, p 72). Depending on circumstances, either one of these aspects of unity may assume priority. Under no circumstances, however, could either of them be shunned. This interconnection is traced in all of Lenin's statements, from 1899 to his last works, and in all documents contained in the volume, including the decree of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum "On Convening the 27th CPSU Congress."

The classical characterization of all of the most essential features which form the concept of "democratic centralism" was coined by Lenin. These features are consistent with our time and the problems being currently resolved by the party. "The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party," Lenin tirelessly explained, "is organized democratically. This means that all party affairs are managed, directly or through representatives, by all party members, with equal rights and without exception; all officials, leading collegiums and all party institutions are elective, accountable and replaceable" (vol 14, p 252). To this day it would be impossible to either add to or detract anything from Lenin's definition of freedom and the limit to which decrees formulated by superior organs can be discussed and criticized, a definition which the reader will find in a variety of drafts in all party

documents on this problem included in the work. "The principle of democratic centralism and autonomy of local institutions means precisely freedom of criticism, total and ubiquitous, as long as this unity is not violated through certain acts, and the inadmissibility of any criticism which undermines or hinders the unity of action as resolved by the party" (vol 13, p 129). "Unity of action and freedom of discussion and criticism--such is our definition. This is the only type of discipline worthy of the democratic party of a progressive class" (vol 14, p 125). Such was the way Lenin formulated the problem, and such is the way it is formulated by the CPSU Central Committee today.

It is clear to any thinking person that without the observance of all of these Leninist stipulations the party of revolutionaries cannot formulate a single tactic or undertake joint actions for its implementation. That is precisely why Lenin fought so fiercely opportunism in organizational problems, as confirmed by his numerous statements included in the book, excerpts from his "One Step Forward and Two Steps Backward" in particular.

Unity and iron discipline are needed by the party under all circumstances: in clandestinity, under the conditions of bourgeois democratic freedoms, during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism and after the latter's full and definitive victory. The party "means a certain organizational unity, and people who violate or scorn the discipline of this organization do not belong to it. This is a basic rule" (vol 24, p 103). The history of the communist movement has had and, unfortunately, still provides many examples of the difficult consequences of ignoring this rule, concessions to opportunism in organizational matters and confusing democratism with anarchic arbitrariness and centralism with bureaucratic harming of local initiative and enterprise.

The tremendous and "unexpected" triumph of the Leninist party which, coming out of clandestinity with 24,000 members, became the most influential social force in the country over a 9-month period, is explained with its strictest possible centralization, unity and discipline, which allow its representative center (congress, conference, central committee) rapidly to change tactics and forms of struggle according to rapidly changing conditions. This was particularly important under the conditions of a multinational country with a mixed economy. "Within our party's structure as well," Lenin pointed out, "we are against a federation. We favor the unity of local (and not only central) organizations of social democrats of all nations" (vol 23, p 211).

After the victory of the October Revolution, in connection with the founding of the Soviet republics, the 7th RKP(b) Congress decreed: "There must be a single centralized communist party with a single central committee, heading the work of the party in all parts of the RSFSR. All decisions of the RKP and its leading institutions are strictly binding to all party units regardless of national composition. The central committees of Ukrainian, Lett and Lithuanian communists have the rights of oblast party committees and are fully subordinate to the RKP Central Committee" (p, 171-172).

The civil war and foreign intervention demanded the militarization of the party. "The party," the resolution of the 8th congress "On the Organizational

Problem" stipulated, is in a state in which strictest possible centralism and the harshest possible discipline are absolutely mandatory. All decisions of a higher body are absolutely binding to a lower one. Each decree must be above all implemented and only then may an appeal to the respective party body made. In this sense, at this time the party needs straight military discipline" (p 172).

The transition from war to peace called for a reorganization of the forms of party work. Whereas under wartime conditions, as was noted at the 10th RKP(b) Congress, militarization was the unavoidable organizational form of the party, manifested in the "overall extreme organizational centralism and the elimination of collective organs of party organization," under the new conditions "the enhanced status of party members along with their active participation in general party life becomes the central task of the day, along with intensifying the party's influence on the nonparty masses, getting closer to them and making the party combat-ready for the struggle against the forces of the counterrevolution" (pp 82, 183-184).

The broadening of party ranks with the inclusion of nonproletarian elements and the conversion to the new economic policy intensified the pressure exerted by petit bourgeois elements on the party and, within it, to the appearance of big and small groups reflecting this pressure. All of this constituted a mortal threat to the cause of socialism.

As we know, on Lenin's suggestion the 10th RKP(b) congress passed the resolution "On Party Unity," which called for the immediate disbanding of all faction groups and the banning of all factional activities. "The violation of this congress decree," the resolution read, "entails unconditional and immediate expulsion from the party" (p 190). In its resolution "On the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in Our Party," the congress stipulated that the views of the "worker opposition" and similar elements are not only theoretically wrong but also practically serve the manifestation of bourgeois and anarchic vacillations and help in practice the class enemies of the proletarian revolution. It was on this basis that the congress decreed that the dissemination of anarchist and syndicalist ideas is incompatible with membership in the Russian Communist Party.

Lenin's ideas on democratization of intraparty life were further developed at the congress. In order to encourage it, it was deemed necessary to ensure the extensive discussion of all most important problems of general party, political and local life at general party membership meetings, down to the cell level, the systematic holding of open meetings by leading party bodies, constant control on the part of the party's public over the work of leading bodies and permanent practical interaction between the latter and the entire party and systematic accountability of corresponding party committees not only to superior but also to subordinate organizations by submitting periodical reports at their meetings (see p 185).

The work cites a number of documents proving that even then, when the principle of collectivity was being violated in the upper echelons of the party's leadership for known reasons, congresses and conferences were not held for long periods of time and violations of socialist legality were committed,

the decisions of party congresses and Central Committee plenums invariably directed the local party organs and organizations to the development of intraparty democracy. Thus, we read in the section on the resolution of the 16th party conference that "The conference draws to the attention of the entire party and all party members individually the need for most decisive, most dedicated and most persistent struggle against the elements of bureaucratism within the party itself and within the party apparatus, caused by the intertwining of the party with the soviet apparatus, the involvement of a huge number of party members with administrative work and the influence which elements of the bourgeois intelligentsia and officialdom are exerting on the party through the party members working within the state apparatus." The conference suggested to the control commissions to pay particular attention "to the struggle against violations of intraparty democracy, and steadfastly to hold accountable party bodies and officials, who hinder the observance of the principles of intraparty democracy (limiting freedom of expression and vote at meetings, use of eligibility restrictions unsanctioned by the bylaws and covert and overt violation of the electoral rights of party members to replace any buro or committee secretary)" (p 244-245).

Particularly noteworthy was the resolution passed at the February-March 1937 VKP(b) Central Committee plenum, which called for the restructuring of all party-political work in connection with the adoption of the 1936 USSR Constitution. In noting the fact that violations of the bylaws and foundations of intraparty democracy had become widespread, the Central Committee plenum decreed the restoration of electivity of leading party organization bodies; banning voting for candidate slates instead of for individual candidates and securing for all party members the unlimited right to withdraw nominations and to criticize candidates; to have closed (secret) balloting in the election of party bodies and to put an end to the practice of many primary party organizations of actually replacing general meetings with shop meetings and conferences (see pp 263-266).

Interestingly, based on the results of the elections for leading bodies which were held at that time, the VKP(b) Central Committee passed a decree which mandated to the obkoms, kraykoms and central committees of communist parties of union republics to hear at their meetings, within the next 3-4 months, accountability reports from each raykom and gorkom and for the raykoms and gorkom from each primary party organization the work of which had been considered unsatisfactory at party conferences or meetings (see p 269). Naturally, such a practice would be useful today as well had there not been an excessive tolerance displayed in summing up the results of the work of party buros and committees which have not informed many oblasts and even republics of "unsatisfactory" assessments.

Unquestionably of more than mere historical interest is the 23 April 1941 VKP(b) Central Committee decree which stipulated "To consider improper and revoke the 2 April 1941 decree of the Mariupol Gorkom, CP(b)Uk, which assigned responsibility for the entire preparation and holding of accountability and election conferences of a primary party organizations to the representatives of party raykoms assigned to them, and which forbade primary party organizations to hold accountability and election meetings in the absence of party raykom representatives" (pp 270-271). Passed during a period of concern to the



country, it called for trust in the primary organizations and the strengthening of their autonomy and activities. Equally relevant and timely are Lenin's words written while still working clandestinely, to the effect that the party which relies on the masses needs "more light, and must know everything" it needs "and should show greater faith in the independent judgement of the entire mass of party workers" (vol 8, p 94). In choosing its leaders, Vladimir Ilich pointed out, each party organization must be familiar not only with their strong but also their weak sides and their "victories and defeats."

The materials included in the book give the readers a complete idea on the way the party's organizational structure took shape and improved.

Lenin's draft of the first article of the party bylaws, submitted at the 2nd RSDWP Congress itself stipulated that, unlike the period of circle work by the social democrats, the party should consist of a system of closely interrelated organizations. Each link within this system would have its proper place, perform specifically defined functions and have a strictly delineated range of obligations and rights.

In his "Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks," Lenin outlined a party organization system. It called for a leading center which, at that time and with a view to observing "strictest possible secrecy and maintenance of continuity," would include a central body and a central committee. "The former," the letter stipulated, "must provide ideological and the latter, direct practical guidance" (vol 7, p 8). Such "bicentrism" proved unsuitable, and at its 3rd congress the party elected a sovereign central committee, which appointed all of its central institutions. The committees ratified by the center worked under its guidance, organizing party work in their specific regions, large cities, etc., establishing rayon (for the very large cities) and plant (always and everywhere) circles. "To us," Lenin emphasized, "these are particularly important, for the entire main force of the movement lies in the organization of the workers at the large plants, for the large plants (and factories) include not only the working class segment predominant in terms of numbers but even more so in influence, development and ability to wage the struggle. Each single plant must be one of our fortresses" (ibid., p 15).

The party's organizational structure improved steadily after the Soviet system became established. Its organizations were structured on the territorial-production basis. Such type structure ensures stable links among individual party units, from primary organization to Central Committee, allowing us efficiently to mobilize the entire party and, through its primary organizations, all labor collectives for the fulfillment of the country's tasks and to direct all aspects of state, economic and social life in a given area.

The collection's materials also prove the great attention which Lenin paid to organizing the collective work of the Central Committee. For example, in assessing the practical experience of the Central Committee Organizational Buro and the Central Committee Political Buro, elected at the RKP(b) Central Committee plenum in accordance with the resolutions of the 8th party congress, Lenin noted that "the party Central Committee secretary implemented



exclusively the joint resolutions of the Central Committee, adopted by the Organizational Buro or the Politburo or else the Central Committee plenum" (p 40, p 238). At the same time, Lenin was intolerant of any attempt on the part of senior officials to hide behind the collegium's back or behind that of their superiors. "In all cases and under all circumstances without exception," he wrote, "collective leadership must be accompanied by the most precise determination of the individual responsibility of every individual for a precisely stipulated project. Irresponsibility concealed behind collective leadership is a most dangerous evil..."(vol 39, p 46).

Certain collective leadership limitations in Central Committee work, resulting from objective (during the Great Patriotic War) and subjective factors were lifted with the decrees of the 20th CPSU Congress. The October and November 1964 Central Committee plenums had to correct the errors related to a subjectivistic approach to the solution of important economic and political problems and unjustified reorganizations of the party, soviet and economic apparatus. The 1962 hasty reorganization of the party, followed by the soviet, Komsomol and trade union bodies down to the raykom level, exclusively on the basis of the so-called production principle, the groundlessness and harm of which became quickly apparent, was an example of an important decision made without comprehensive collective consideration and the advice of local personnel. The party returned to the most expedient territorial-production principle governing its organizational structure, which had been tested in the course of many years of practical experience (see pp 289-290).

By remembering these lessons and firmly following Lenin's instruction that "we cannot learn how to resolve our problems with the help of new methods today if yesterday's experience has not opened our eyes to the incorrectness of the old methods" (vol 44, p 205), the party resorts to the restructuring of its organizations and state administrative bodies only when the old structure begins to hinder the solution of imminent problems.

The local party committees play a tremendous role in the implementation of party policy. The materials in the book include many documents proving the exceptional attention which the Central Committee pays to the comprehensive study of the activities of local party committees and to giving them the necessary assistance in their work. The Central Committee decrees passed in this connection include stipulations and recommendations many of which, we believe, should be recorded in the notebooks of all party workers, so that they may be strictly observed in practical work, for such conclusions and recommendations dealing, for instance, with verification of execution of adopted decisions, extensive development of principled criticism and self-criticism, comprehensive strengthening of unity between words and actions and upgrading the vanguard role of the party members are most directly related to present concerns.

A long time span separates us from the VKP(b) Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Salskiy VKP(b) Raykom, Rostov Oblast," which was passed on 17 August 1946. To this day, however, its stipulations are of considerable interest. Let us take as an example Item 5: "To consider improper the practice followed in the rayon, according to which leading rayon officials who visit kolkhozes, machine-tractor stations and sovkhoses bypass the primary

party organizations, do not assemble the party members and not only do not talk with rank-and-file party and candidate-party members, but even with secretaries of party organizations....

"To stipulate that the leading party personnel, who visit kolkhozes, machine-tractor stations and sovkhoses for work purposes, must fully rely on the primary party organizations, seek the party members' advice and involve them into active participation in resolving problems of political, economic and cultural life" (p 276).

Today's reader will be undoubtedly very interested by the numerous documents on organizational strengthening and improving the content of the work of the primary organizations, which are the party's foundations.

To one extent or another, problems of the work of party cells (primary party organizations) have been considered at all party congresses since the October Revolution. The party Central Committee saw in the proper work of the cells a prerequisite for the successful solution of its problems relative to strengthening its ties with the masses, the further qualitative improvement of the party composition and the teaching of the foundations of Leninism to the masses of new members and the extensive involvement of all party members in the efforts to upgrade industry and labor productivity (see pp 216-217).

The Central Committee, which demands of the leading local party organs to become more deeply involved in the work of the primary party organizations and to rely on them in implementing party policy, in turn regularly analyzes their work in industry, transportation, agriculture, scientific and training institutions, ministries and departments. As a rule, decrees on reports submitted by party committees of industrial enterprises, sovkhoses and kolkhozes (see, for instance, pp 276, 277, 298, 299, and others) include a critical study of their work, but also note positive features which could be adopted by other organizations.

In these decrees, among others the CPSU Central Committee cautions against enthusiasm for external indicators, such as the number of party meetings held, or circles and party courses organized, and weakening the attention paid to the content of the work of shop party organizations and to the bolshevik upbringing of party members. It is hardly necessary to point out that by no means have all party organizations entirely eliminated from their activities ill-fated "show" and formalism which, to this day, prevent live work with specific individuals.

In all likelihood, nor will the readers skip the 23 February 1970 CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Party Committee of the USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry." The decree notes a number of essential shortcomings in the organization of intraparty work, such as "Sometimes party meetings are held formally, contributing little to upgrading the activities of all party members in resolving the ministry's problems. Criticism and self-criticism are poorly developed and are frequently general and impersonal and therefore ineffective. Many party committee decrees and resolutions of meetings do not formulate specific assignments or assign personal responsibility to the party members for their implementation...." The CPSU Central Committee also deemed

it "inadmissible for the party committee's failure to report to the Central Committee shortcomings in the work of the ministry or of individual officials, regardless of their position, as is demanded by the CPSU bylaws...." (p 315). It would be no exaggeration to say that this decree remains fully relevant.

The task of upgrading the combativeness of the primary party organizations, which are the political nucleus of the labor collectives and which, under present-day circumstances, becomes particularly urgent and relevant, remains on the agenda. The labor collectives are the fundamental socioeconomic cells of Soviet society. "They focus, as in a lens, all problems of our life," M. S. Gorbachev said at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee with veterans of the Stakhanov movement and production frontrankers and innovators. "It is the labor collectives that implement plans, test new ideas and train cadres." It is there, in associations, enterprises, shops, brigades, laboratories and design bureaus and workplaces that the success of our projects is determined. It is determined, as was pointed out at that meeting, through the energy, mind and heart, honesty and conscience of the individual working person. The creation in all collectives without exception of the type of moral and political atmosphere in which the creative possibilities of every working person can be fully manifested is the direct obligation of the party groups and shop and primary party organizations.

Documents on the organization of the flow of information from and to the CPSU Central Committee account for a considerable share of the collection. The trends and pace of further development cannot be accurately defined (be it a question of economics, social problems or intraparty relations) unless the leading center has most accurate information on the true state of affairs.

The question of the information which the leading center of the organization must have at its disposal was put on the agenda on the very eve of the founding of the Leninist party. How could one compare views and ensure publicity in the discussion of any party-wide problem under tsarist conditions? Lenin answered the question as follows: "In our country, under an autocratic regime, the only means and instrument of party publicity is that of supplying the party center with regular information" (vol 7, pp 24-25).

Already then comprehensive information and party publicity were considered absolutely necessary prerequisites for the fullest possible utilization of available forces. "In order for the center to be able not only to advise, persuade and argue (as had been the case until then) but also truly to conduct the orchestra," Lenin wrote, "it must have precise knowledge of who is playing what kind of violin, where was he trained and on what instrument, who should be moved to eliminate dissonance, and where, etc." (ibid., p 22). Lenin introduced Point 10 in the draft party bylaws, directly instructing all party organizations "to provide the Central Committee and the organ of the central organization all the necessary means for the study of their entire activities and personnel" (ibid., p 257).

The need for extensive and, naturally, objective and self-critical information significantly increased after the party had become ruling. The "orchestra" and intraparty and all social life directed by the party became richer in "instruments" which had to be mastered. The range of music became wider and

its content deeper and more complex. Furthermore, remembering that the building of a new society is a consciously and systematically organized process, the need for information coming "from above," from the higher to the lower party management bodies, to the primary organizations and the entire people, increased. Such information strengthens the ties between the party and the masses and enhances the latter's role as the decisive agent of social progress.

The March 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum noted that "we must continue to increase publicity in the work of party, soviet, state and public organizations. V. I. Lenin said that the state is strong through the consciousness of the masses. This has been fully confirmed by our practical experience. The better informed the people are, the more actively they support the party and its plans and programmatic objectives."

The documents included in the book prove the constant concern which the Central Committee shows for obtaining information from below, including sources such as citizens' letters and appeals to party bodies and informing the party members and all citizens about the activities of leading party, soviet, economic and social bodies.

An example of this is provided today by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat. Every week the press carries the information "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo" and the most important decrees of the party's Central Committee. Minutes of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat are disseminated among republic, kray and oblast party committees. Information bulletins and CPSU Central Committee letters are sent to the local organizations, informing the party members of most important domestic and foreign policy events and problems.

Of late the Central Committee and its leadership have extensively used an irreplaceable source of information, such as personal contacts with working people's collectives and on-site determination of the state of affairs in party organizations, thus personally seeing what has become obsolete and requires new solutions. The entire fruitfulness of such type of information was clearly confirmed in the course of the visits to areas where the problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress, developing the country's energy base and fulfilling the Food Program are largely being resolved paid by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and groups of CPSU Central Committee and USSR government leading personnel.

The statements by Lenin and other materials on intraparty relations in the narrow meaning of the term--personal relations among party members within their collective--which tremendously determines the latter's combat capability, and the ability of party members to stand guard, in Lenin's words, "over the party organization, the party's firmness and honor and the party banner!" (vol 7, p 351), included in the volume, are of exceptional interest to the party aktiv and the young party members, particularly in connection with the current party accountability and election campaign. This applies to the great association which was hammered out at a time when Lenin and his initially few supporters, rallied on the basis of a freely made choice, marched "in a tight group, along the steep and hard road, firmly holding each-other's hand" (vol

6, p 9), surrounded by enemies on all sides. No system of party organizations and party bodies which could regulate relations between them existed in Russia at that time. However, there already was an informal direct feeling of responsibility by revolutionaries to each-other. "There is among us," Lenin wrote at that time, "a well developed public opinion of the Russian (and international) revolutionary public, with a full history behind it, which punishes with merciless severity any deviation from the obligations of the association (true "democracy" and not play at democracy, is part of this entire concept of association!)" (ibid., pp 141-142). "We must remember," the notification on convening the 3rd party congress stated, "that conscious comradesly relations are the foundation of the organization" (p 161).

The ruling party status does not change this basic principle, as the documents included in the volume confirm. To this day the development of intraparty relations must set a model of socialist democracy and indicate the way to the elaboration of the norms of communist community life and self-management. To this day the association of party members, the people's vanguard, understood in the Leninist manner, must set a lofty example in the uncompromising struggle for strengthening organization, order and discipline in all areas and levels of our social life.

Turning to the party documents of the past will not only not distract the party members from present requirements, as clearly formulated at the April and October 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenums, but will help everyone to understand these requirements better and fully to realize one's personal responsibility for assignments and the assignments of the entire association to which he belongs, which is known as the party.

Sixty-five years ago the 9th All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b) stipulated that "In distinguishing among party members only in terms of the extent of their consciousness, loyalty, steadfastness, political maturity, revolutionary experience and readiness for self-sacrifice, the party struggles against any attempts at distinguishing among party members on the basis of any other feature, such as high or low status, intellectuals and workers, national characteristics, etc." (p 175). It is only under such circumstances that an atmosphere of sincerity, frankness and party comradeship can be ensured within each party collective, from party group to Central Committee, presuming strict reciprocal exigency which would exclude careeristic efforts, any attempts or possibilities of entrapment, inflated reputations, etc.

"Pace, quality, thrift and organization are the main slogans of the day," was what was said at the 20 September 1985 CPSU Central Committee meeting. In the course of the preparations for the forthcoming party congress these slogans are being concretized in accordance with the specific nature of the individual collectives (industrial, scientific, administrative) so that their implementation can maximally contribute to the solution of the party's strategic problem: the accelerated socioeconomic development of society on the basis of scientific and technical progress.

The formulation of collectively planned and thoroughly weighed-out suggestions at the congress is possible only if party relations are not confused with official and hierarchical duties in accountability and election meetings and,



as a matter of fact, in the daily life of individual organizations. Democratic centralism calls for the strict implementation of the directives issued by superior party, state and economic authorities. An instruction or order issued by a minister, plant director, shop chief or any other manager is mandatory to all of his subordinates. Party meetings at which the work of the collective and its future tasks are discussed, however, are attended exclusively by communists, who elect a presidium which conducts the meeting with their agreement and on their instructions. Here there are no chiefs and subordinates, and everybody is bound by the same party discipline, and each individual statement must be accepted only on the basis of its content, regardless of the speaker's "rank."

The 4 August 1983 CPSU Central Committee decree "On Accountability and Election Meetings in Primary, Rayon, City, Okrug, Oblast and Kray Party Organizations," included in the book, calls for "bringing into action the major party reserve -- the further development of intraparty democracy and upgrading the creative activeness, initiative and responsibility of party members." "We cannot tolerate," the decree stressed, "cases in which meetings are held on the basis of a predetermined scenario, without interested and frank discussions, when speeches are edited in advance and initiative and criticism are suppressed" (p 362).

Nevertheless, as letters received by party committees and press organs indicate, such cases have still not been entirely eliminated. As a rule they occur wherever bolshevik traditions are violated and wherever respect for rank or philistine indifference replace communist party- and principle-mindedness in an organization.

A major step must be taken in the course of the current accountability and election campaign in surmounting the sluggish power of inertia, updating means and methods of economic management and mastering the Leninist work style. "It is time to undertake the improvement of organizational management structures, eliminate unnecessary units, simplify the machinery and upgrade its efficiency," the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum stressed. "This is important also because some management units have turned into a hindrance to progress. The number of instructions, regulations and methods which, sometimes arbitrarily interpreting party and government decisions, paralyze the independence of enterprises, must be drastically reduced."

The problem has been clearly formulated and requires equally clear, practical and honest suggestions by department heads and party members. It is a question, as was pointed out at the meeting with the collective of the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Plant, not of reorganization urges, which have caused us such trouble in the past, but of planned, extremely cautious but systematic removal of departmental barriers which block new scientific and technical ideas for long periods of time. It is a question of implementing Lenin's appeal of eliminating "from social relations all traces of any excesses whatsoever" (vol 45, pp 404-405). However, few (if any) suggestions are coming out of ministries or departments on disbanding or merging them with similar sectors. Conversely, there is no shortage of suggestions on the creation of ever new institutions, while great zeal is shown in keeping the older ones, even after their uselessness has become fully apparent.



At that same April meeting and, subsequently, at the conference with the party aktiv of Siberian and Kazakhstan agricultural workers, M. S. Gorbachev reminded them once again that "If we are firmly convinced that the land should have one master and that agroindustrial associations bear full responsibility for the implementation of the Food Program, which, I believe, no one doubts, steps should be taken which would make it possible to manage, plan and finance the agroindustrial complex as a single entity, on all levels. This is what you and I agreed upon at the May 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenum."

We agreed... However, as in the past, the land does not have one master. This situation seems to suit perfectly some agriculture-servicing departments. This agreement was implemented on the republic level only in Georgia and Estonia. The central departments related to affairs of the land are, judging by all available information, zealously protecting their "sovereignty."

This is not the first year or first 5-year period that we keep talking about "long construction" or the scattering of capital investments among many projects, although thousands of such initiated projects remain, as though such funds have acquired some sort of mystical ability for self-scattering. But then, there are party members in all ministries, committees and administrations involved in such matters. Their party organizations have been given the right to control the way in which their departments implement party and government directives and the work of their apparatus. They can simply take to task any manager, whatever his rank, for violations of party and state discipline for that same wasting of funds, for bureaucratism, red tape, whitewashing and other phenomena which are alien to socialism but are still taking place in many establishments and enterprises.

The new responsible tasks also demand a new approach to all aspects of party work. In the area of intraparty relations, as M. S. Gorbachev said at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum, this means, "on the one hand, the further broadening of intraparty democracy and the development of the initiative and activeness of party members and all party organizations, primary above all, and, on the other, enhancing their responsibility for the solution of common problems. The more varied and saturated intraparty life becomes, and the more democracy is displayed in resolving all key problems, ranging from party membership to cadre policy, the stronger and more effective will the party's influence on all social processes become."

In a convincing Leninist and party documentary style, the collection shows to the modern reader the consistency with which the Bolshevik Party has struggled against manifestations of factionalism and corruption within its ranks and for promoting honest and pure relations among party members, uniform discipline, regardless of rank and position, and complete freedom of criticism and discussion "from below." It contains many lessons, which are particularly useful to young party members. Here are some of them.

The 11th RKP(b) Congress approved the resolution formulated at the conference of secretaries of party obkoms, oblast buros and gubkoms, which formulated, among others, "three priority and most important tasks: 1. comprehensive strengthening of intraparty cohesion and unity; 2. intensifying ideological communist education....; 3. strengthening party discipline." The congress

mandated to all party organizations to wage a decisive struggle against phenomena which undermine party comradeship. "This mainly applies to all sorts of frictions, quarrels and account settling with individuals and entire groups on problems which are frequently of secondary, personal-group rather than principled nature, and involving entire party organizations in this kind of squabbles, quarrels and frictions (trouble-making, in the language of the party organization)...." It was proposed that such phenomena be considered "a most severe crime against the party, introducing corruption within its ranks and aimed against its internal solidarity, cohesion and unity" (p 198).

Among other measures aimed at strengthening the party's leading role in society and strengthening and purging its ranks, the November 1928 VKP(b) Central Committee plenum called for "mounting a truly decisive struggle against bureaucratic methods and manifestations of bureaucratic suppression in party work, on the basis of intraparty democracy, the accurate and strict observance of electiveness and, consequently, replacement of any secretary or any leading party body (buro, committee) in accordance with the true wish of the organization." "To this effect," the plenum resolution further stated, "leading party cadres must significantly strengthen their ties with the masses by participating in worker meetings and reporting to workers and peasants on their work (party, soviet, trade union, cooperative, managerial), providing on-site practical guidance to primary bodies, transferring from leading positions to long-term managerial work in industry and in primary bodies, intensifying promotions of new worker cadres from production to leading positions in all bodies, etc. This makes it even more necessary to strike at phenomena and ulcers in communist circles, such as "daily rotting," slackness and drunkenness, toadyism and servility to "uppers," covering up open scandals and cases of joining kulak-kapitalist population strata by some elements in our own ranks. All of this demands the bold and firm implementation of the slogan of self-criticism in the party organizations themselves, which must set the example in this case. That is why any fear of development of self-criticism--the creative criticism of the masses from below--is crushingly rebuffed by the party as one of the most outstanding manifestations of bureaucratism" (p 243).

It its 12 September 1968 decree "On the Work of the Dobrinskiy Party Raykom, Lipetsk Oblast," the CPSU Central Committee suggested to the raykom "to upgrade the activeness of party members and their responsibility for the state of affairs in their organizations and collectives, so that every one of them may be a frontranker in production and public and private life, and set an example to others. Putting a decisive end to existing cases of tolerance and liberalism concerning party members and candidate members who violate the requirements of the CPSU program and bylaws" (p 303).

In the course of the present accountability and election campaign the party members must make a thorough analysis of the positive and negative lessons learned since the last congress in order to consolidate the best, reject the unsuitable and the obsolete, find their place in the common struggle for the implementation of party economic and social strategy, as earmarked at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum, make their contribution to the practical and thoughtful discussion of the new draft party program and amendments to its bylaws (which would be greatly assisted by a book on

organizational and statutory problems), and set up combat-capable leading bodies which would be able to assess the activities of reporters. In this case every party member must remember Lenin's instruction: "A person is not worthy of party membership if he is unable to demand and see to it that those he has put in charge implement their party obligations toward those who have given them their assignments" (vol 9, 310).

It is precisely this type of Leninist requirement that is referred to in the April 1985 Central Committee plenum "On Convening the Regular 27th CPSU Congress:" "Party meetings, conferences and congresses must be held in an atmosphere of practicality, principle-mindedness and self-critical approach to assessing the work of party organizations and their leading bodies. It is important for the accountability reports and elections to contribute to the further strengthening of the Leninist norms of party life, the development of intraparty democracy, criticism from above and below, increased party member activeness and initiative and upgrading their responsibility for the work of their organizations and of the party as a whole" (p 374).

The work under review will be of great help to the party aktiv in meeting the CPSU Central Committee requirements. Despite the incompleteness in the selection of Lenin's statements and the party's documents on intraparty relations, due to the size limitations of the volume, the book covers the topic in its entirety. The usefulness of such a work is unquestionable as is its small edition (70,000 copies only).

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## STRATEGY OF VICTORY

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[Review by Dr of Military Sciences Col Gen M. Gareyev, deputy chief of the General Staff, Armed Forces of the USSR, of the motion picture "Strategy of Victory"]

[Text] In creating the chronicle of the great Patriotic War, Soviet documentaries have already described many events from this period in our history. This has included stories of individual battles, destinies of characters and movie epics, such as "The Great Patriotic War" by R. Karmen, presenting a chronological panorama of the grandiose battle waged by the Soviet people against Hitlerite fascism. Actually, however great the scale of the battle may have been, the viewer could always feel it, for the documentary makers have at their disposal the priceless newsreels of that period. These films have preserved for us, their contemporaries, and for the future generations the gigantic battlefields and the mass exploit of the main character: the victorious people.

Depicting on the screen the confrontation in the areas of military and state thinking, the confrontation of strategies, is a more difficult problem.

The confrontation of the two schools of military science in the last war is particularly meaningful, for this was no simple battle between two armies. The forces of socialism engaged in a duel with the assault force of imperialism--fascism--with its fanatical ideology, insane ideas of enslaving the world, genocide and the scorched-earth tactic, in a war imposed on us.

The monstrous nature of Hitlerism, however, did not make it a weak enemy on the battlefield. On the contrary, militarism, which had become a cult in Nazi Germany, steadily perfected its martial art and sharpened the strategic skill of military commanders.

I repeat, to depict on the screen the "battle of the minds" is, perhaps, more difficult than to depict the scale of a battle. This was the difficult task which Central Television of the USSR State Television and Radio set itself. A group of script writers and directors from the "Ekran" Creative Association,

headed by the noted publicist Galina Shergova, USSR State Prize laureate, resolved it with the creation of the "Strategy of Victory" series.

And so, this is about strategy, a motion picture about military leadership skill and conduct of the war.

However, it is not without reason that we always relate the concept of "strategy" to the activities of our party and state in all areas of political, economic and social life. Our military strategy was not only inseparably linked with the general tasks of the war, but also stemmed from them. It was precisely these tasks that determined the nature of the conduct of military operations. V. I. Lenin's instruction is always relevant: "The social nature of the war and its true significance...are determined by the type of policy that the war is an extension of ('war is an extension of politics') and the nature of the class waging the war and to what purpose" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 34, pp 196-197).

The historical victory of the Soviet people and their armed forces in the Great Patriotic War is, above all, convincing proof of the powerful vital force of the socialist system and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The main factors which determined our victory in the battle against fascism were the socialist social system, with its economic advantages, the ideological and political unity of Soviet society, the friendship among the peoples of the USSR, their cohesion with the communist party and the unparalleled heroism of the army and navy.

The Leninist party was the acknowledged leader and organizer of the toiling masses in the struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors. It directed its entire organizational talent and the entire energy of the people acquired during the period of building socialism, their stubbornness, endurance and will toward a single objective: the defeat of fascism.

A great merit of the film "Strategy of Victory" and a new quality which distinguishes it from previous similar pictures, is, precisely, its view of the military strategy and activities of Supreme Command Headquarters, the General Staff and the staffs of fronts and armies as organically related to the overall policy of the communist party and Soviet state. The steps taken to strengthen and build a war economy, activities in the area of international relations and, above all, the tremendous thoughtful ideological work in the army in the field and in the rear determined the efficiency of the strategic leadership of the armed forces. The coincidence between political objectives and the interests of the people was the main factor which influenced the military situation and ensured the successful implementation of objectives.

The panoramic view of this unity is displayed throughout the series. Thus, in the film which depicts the beginning of the war -- "Stormy Summer" (scenario by A. Yurovskiy, directed by A. Korvyakov) -- we hear the 29 June 1941 USSR Sovnarkom and VKP(b) Central Committee directive: "...The question of the life or death of the Soviet state will be resolved in the war against fascist Germany, imposed upon us..." The passionately uncompromising nature of this appeal, and the frank dialogue between the party and the people remind of the

toll sound of Lenin's decree-appeal "The socialist fatherland is in danger!" Although more than 20 years separate these two documents, what makes them similar is that it is only a party understood by the people, a party which has no objectives different from those of the people that can address them in this manner.

Hence the natural reaction of the people who heard the party's voice: everyone understood that one would have to fight and die if necessary, but not surrendered alive.

The series is structured according to the main stages of the war and the main battles and operations which revealed new features of our martial art.

Each film clearly depicts the actual political situation of the period, the straight, honest and far-sighted position held by the Soviet Union on problems of war and peace, the military operations on the various fronts and outstanding human destinies. The very first film, "On the Eve" (scenario by P. Zhilin and A. Lysenko, directed by V. Viktorov), proves with specific examples that before the war the party had perspicaciously assessed the increasing threat of war and, despite difficult international circumstances, was doing everything possible to avert it while, at the same time, strengthening the country's defense capability.

The Great Patriotic War subjected to a severe test all concepts of our military science and martial art. We can confidently say that the most important among them proved to be accurate. In any case, nobody in the history of war has been able to predict the nature of a future armed struggle with such a high degree of accuracy. This is indisputably proved by the superiority of Soviet military-theory thinking over German military doctrines, which had always been considered the peak of bourgeois military theory and practice. No falsifiers of the history of World War II can refute this.

However, it would be erroneous to claim that absolutely all concepts of our military theory proved to be impeccable from the viewpoint of their practical application on the battlefield or had been comprehensively developed even before the war. Such an approach detracts from what was accomplished during the war at the cost of great efforts and does not contribute in the least to the objective study of the laws of current military theory training. These sharp problems are not avoided in this television epic. On the contrary, the difficult and complex process of shaping the strategy for victory in the course of the fierce battle against a strong and treacherous enemy is convincingly depicted.

The operations conducted by our armed forces were distinguished by their creative nature and novelty of means of action, unexpected by the enemy. The development of flexible methods for preparing and conducting defensive operations with subsequent counterattacks, the theory and practice of strategic offensives, the solution of problems of operative and strategic breaching of enemy defenses with subsequent surrounding and destruction of large forces, finding new means of interaction among different arms and branches, the use of an efficient form of strike, such as an artillery and air force offensive, the new means and methods of structuring the battle order,



comprehensive support of operations and firm control, as well as many other problems which were given a new solution in the course of the war retain, to a certain extent, their value under contemporary conditions as well. This is visibly depicted in the films, with harsh honesty and convincingly, in both historical and artistic aspects.

The film "From the Walls of Moscow" (scenario by M. Leshchinskiy, directed by S. Belyaninov), depicts a most difficult, occasionally tragic, situation: The enemy who had approached our capital enjoyed considerable superiority in manpower and materiel. In the film "The Stormy Summer," Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov states most frankly: "At that time...we still did not know where the enemy will be stopped, and where were the suitable lines for mounting a counteroffensive." But then the viewer witnesses the steps taken to tighten up reserves, the planning of the counteroffensive and the choice of the precise moment for its start.

"Whenever I am asked about what do I remember most of all from the past war," G. K. Zhukov wrote in his "Vospominaniya i Razmyselniya" [Recollections and Thoughts], "I invariably answer: The battle for Moscow. In the harsh and frequently exceptionally complex and difficult circumstances, our troops tempered, matured, gathered experience and, given even a minimal quantity of the combat and ordnance means they required, turned from a retreating and defending force into a powerful offensive one."

Another stage is that of the battle for Stalingrad, which is also the name of the film (scenario by I. Mendzheritskiy, directed by V. Kryukov). The counteroffensive was launched with opposing forces of equal strength. Here as well, however, the situation was quite difficult, worsened by our failures at that time in the Ukraine. A very thorough plan, such as the enemy could not anticipate, was necessary. It had to be formulated with greater secrecy. It was not for nothing that J. V. Stalin, the supreme commander in chief, cautioned G. K. Zhukov and A. M. Vasilevskiy about this.

The formulation of the counterattack plan and the creative birth of the strategic concept take place in front of us. This episode is particularly valuable for being narrated personally by the commanders, G. K. Zhukov and A. M. Malinovskiy. Their synchronous stories have been recorded (let me point out, incidentally, that the serial uses many recorded stories by military commanders, some of which are aptly combined with actors reading from their memoirs. Yet, how frequently the thought bothers me: "how few are such stories preserved in film archives, and how little has been filmed and left behind for history!"). It is precisely from the fact that we can trace the development of commanders' thoughts and the thinking of Headquarters that we can appreciate their flexibility and perfection, bearing in mind the features of the specific circumstances and the stage of the war.

During the counteroffensive at Kursk, superiority was on the side of the Soviet forces. The success of this battle was the result of a number of factors selected by our command: deliberate defense, secret formation of assault forces, strategic surprise, etc. Translating such military categories into cinema language may seem rather difficult. However, the tense narration

and the combination of documentaries of the time with modern filming techniques in the film "Bridgehead of Steel" (script by P. Demidov, directed by S. Belyaninov), not only show the greatness of the battle but the complexity of military concepts and the circumstances in which they were created and implemented.

In general, I consider one of the successes of this serial the aspiration of the authors to recreate the situation, the atmosphere in which decisions were made, by ourselves, our allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the enemy. The fact that much of the filming was made on location (Stalin's office, Headquarters building) or in sets built from photographs (in the case of no-longer extant buildings, such as the Reichstag) not simply gives the film veracity but takes us back to the times, turning the viewers into participants in historical conferences and talks which, at that time, had been concealed from them for purely understandable considerations of secrecy.

It is thus that, "attending" conferences at Headquarters and front and army staffs, one film after another one can see the way the thinking of our military leaders became more profound and the way martial art acquired new facets, from the first counterstrikes and counteroffensives to interaction among fronts and the defeat of the enemy's main strategical groups of forces -- the groups of armies North, Center, Northern Ukraine and Southern Ukraine.

Operations involving the surrounding and destruction of the enemy are the peak of military art. History textbooks frequently describe them as "Cannas," in reference to Hannibal's splendid operation.

The Great Patriotic War had as its own "Cannas" the brilliantly planned and ably implemented encirclement of the 330,000-strong enemy force at Stalingrad. Subsequently, there were the Korsun-Shevchenko, Iasi-Kishinev and other operations. "Strategy of Victory" describes the most important among them, and describing the action on the screen is unnecessary. I shall cite one example only, for it is typical and important in terms of the entire series.

The "dialogue" between Marshal I. S. Konev and Nazi Fieldmarshal Mannstein accounts for a large part of the film "If the Enemy Does Not Surrender..." (scenario by A. Lysenko, directed by I. Belyayev), which deals with the Korsun-Shevchenko operation. In reality, of course, no such dialogue between the two military commanders ever took place. In the course of the battle, however, there was a tense and inventive "dialogue" of concepts, invisibly crossing the frontline. Our victory in this "commanders' duel" was achieved not only through the force of arms but also the superiority of Soviet strategic thinking.

The helplessness of Friesner, who commanded the South Ukraine Group of Armies, unable to counter the offensive with effective defense, is shown in the film "Liberating Europe..." (scenario by A. Yurovskiy, directed by A. Korvyakov) which depicts the way Soviet martial art was enriched through the skill of involving a smaller part of the forces in the internal front in surrounding

enemy forces, concentrating the main forces in the creation of a mobile external front.

It is not our intention in the least to trace here the entire development and advancement of our strategy. Naturally, what we have said here applies only to some of its features. Let us emphasize, however, that the makers of this series were able to present such features clearly and interestingly, without turning a work of art into a lecture on military art.

In thinking on the subject of the new features, compared to what has already been filmed, with which "Strategy of Victory" contributes to our concepts of the war, we should look at another important foreshortening. The serial's narrative is about the Great Patriotic War within the context of World War II in its entirety, and although events at other theaters of military operations are not thoroughly covered, the film convincingly confirms the idea proven by history: the Soviet-German front was the main front in World War II and it is precisely here that the decisive victories which brought about the total routing of German nazism were won.

Two films deal with the victory in the Far Eastern theater of military operations, combined under the title "In the Pacific As Well!...(scenario by P. Demidov and A. Gorev, directed by S. Belyaninov).

The films not only describe the way in which the "last dot" was put to World War II, by the Soviet Armed Forces, which defeated the nearly one-million strong Kwantung army, Japan's nucleus of ground forces. They resurrect the history of aggressive actions and plans of the "Land of the Rising Sun," plans which were truly global, matching Hitler's. The story deals with the policy of conquest of foreign lands, the policy of genocide and the virtually unobstructed march of Japanese militarism across the territories of Western colonies. The films also remind us of the historical lessons taught by the Red Army to the aggressor at Khasan Lake and the Khalkhin Gol River.

Our armed forces waged a short but difficult war on Japan. It was no easy matter for the Soviet soldier to rejoin the battle after 4 years of struggle against German fascism. What great loyalty to obligations to his allies, belief in the justice of the objectives of the new battle and dedication to international duty this soldier had to have!

Yes, he secured the safety of our eastern borders. He brought freedom to the peoples of North Korea and China, who courageously fought the Japanese aggressors. His victories inspired the national liberation movements of many countries. It was the exploits of the Soviet soldier on the battlefield rather than the American atom bombs dropped on the civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that forced the capitulation of militaristic Japan.

Yet this atomic vandalism is considered today in the United States as just about the supreme achievement of military strategy. However, the true strategy for victory was our own, and the main contribution to the joint victory in World War II was that of our country.

During the war an average of up to 70 percent of fascist Germany's divisions fought against the Soviet Union. Our armed forces destroyed, routed and captured 607 of the most combat-capable and best technically equipped divisions of Germany and its satellites, whereas the allied forces in Western Europe, North Africa and Italy routed no more than 176.

The Soviet-German front was sharply different in terms of the duration of the armed struggle and the intensity of military operations. Here active military operations along the entire front or in various directions were virtually uninterrupted throughout the entire war. Meanwhile, in the West, sometimes months would pass without active combat operations.

Mention of this fact once again is particularly important today. It is also an excellent thing for audiences in many countries to hear from the screen the important and argued proof of this historical conclusion, since for the past 40 years Western historiography has been trying to belittle the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union to the victory over fascism. One wonders, when reading the "works" of some bourgeois historians, in which the British victory at El Alamein, which coincided with the battle for Stalingrad in time but not in scale, is proclaimed the turning point in the course of the war, and about the fact that the Normandy landing, when the outcome of the war was already decided, is also described, along with some 10-12 other small-scale battles, as a "turning point."

Yes, World War II was a coalition war and our allies made a substantial contribution to the victory over the common enemy. Furthermore, the experience from such cooperation was invaluable: the world realized that countries with different sociopolitical systems could cooperate fruitfully. However, the activities of our allies in the war were not synonymous. Although aware of the fact that the Soviet Union was carrying on its shoulders the main burden of the war and that it was through its efforts that the world could be saved, our partners in the anti-Hitlerite coalition were never able to surmount their class hatred of the first state of workers and peasants in the world. Although this attitude was expressed by the various Western political leaders in various ways during the various periods of the war, it was always done so with proper sociopolitical consistency.

Worth recalling are some statements and documents cited in the series.

On the day the Hitlerites attacked the USSR, Churchill said: "The threat to Russia is a threat to us and the United States."

Roosevelt: "We intend to give Russia all the help we can."

A week later, however, Roosevelt read a report submitted to him: Germany will have its hands full for a minimum of 1 month and, at most, possibly 3 in the defeat of Russia. We must act quickly before Germany gets its feet out of the Russian quagmire."

In 1943 Roosevelt said: "The most decisive battles are currently taking place in Russia. In saving itself, Russia expects to save the whole world from nazism. We must be grateful to that country..."

It was roughly at that time that Churchill remarked: "I would like to see the German armies in the grave and Russia on the operating table."

During the final stage of the war our Western partners were swearing loyalty to us while secretly negotiating separate deals with the German command.

I am citing these examples in their chronological sequence, for in my view one of the major accomplishments of the series is that, film after film, the position of the United State and Great Britain (above all) is traced and the motivations and cause-and-effect reasons for that position are shown. The main and determining fact here was the alliance between the ruling classes and the military-industrial complex and the very nature of state-monopoly capitalism.

The contacts between the U.S., British and French military monopolies with the German war industry are described in the first film, "On the Eve." Paradoxically, it was precisely these countries that supplied the (initially potential and then real) enemy with strategic materials.

In the final series the viewer can see how concernedly our allies protected German military-industry sites, already making plans for postwar cooperation with a country which, according to the decisions taken at Yalta and Potsdam, had to be demilitarized. There was to be no bombing! Meanwhile, the peaceful streets of Dresden and Koln were being blown up to smithereens.

Battles on the battlefields were accompanied by quiet yet tense battles around conference tables, at international conferences. One can only admire the wise and consistent efforts of Soviet diplomacy.

"Strategy of Victory" interestingly recreates many international actions of that time: the Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam meetings of the heads of the countries members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the signing of fascist Germany's act of unconditional surrender in Karlshorst were filmed on location (with the exception of Tehran).

In those scenes the talks have been faithfully rendered on the basis of documents (or recordings). Combined with newsreels, they take us to the meeting hall, although the actors do not "play" Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill and Truman. I emphasize 'do not play', for the purpose of the serial is not to create a documentary show for the screen. It is important to make the viewer interpret the events and read the documents thoughtfully. That is why the lines of the actors are accompanied by some "remarks" by a Historian. His is the voice of the present, the voice of one familiar with the subsequent development of events.

During the Yalta conference, while the question of the postwar demilitarization of Germany was being discussed, Churchill remarked: "Yes,

this is a very important consideration!" At this point the Historian comes in: "Should Churchill be caught red-handed? For literally several weeks later he would secretly order General Montgomery to stockpile captured German weapons to arm as quickly as possible hundreds of thousands of German war prisoners for a joint strike at the Soviet armies" (film "The Victorious Spring," scenario by Yu. Vizbor, directed by S. Zelikin).

Yes, relations among the allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition did not develop simply, although the experience gained in such cooperation was fruitful and instructive.

However, we should not equate the attitude toward our country by the governments and that of the peoples within the coalition. Once again we see here a manifestation of the historical law formulated by Lenin as "antagonism between imperialism, which rejects democracy, and the aspiration of the masses for democracy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 71). It was not the heroism of the Red Army alone which brought to life the sympathy which the toiling masses in the United States, Great Britain, France and other countries felt for us. The truly democratic nature of our system and the ideological inspiration and monolithic nature of our people, who were at the sources of that heroism, instilled faith and hope in the hearts of millions of simple people on earth. They pressed for a sooner opening of the second front in Europe, collected funds in aid to Russia and condemned, to say the least, some "improper" actions committed by their governments and departments toward our country. Impressive documentary scenes in the film "The Caucasian Shield" (scenario by D. Firsov, directed by V. Kryukov) and others eloquently describe such acts of solidarity with the selfless struggle waged by the Soviet people against the Nazi plague.

However, it was the colonial countries which felt particularly sharply the imperialist nature of the monopoly circles and the West European governments which supported them. Here is what M. Gandhi wrote to Roosevelt in July 1942: "I still believe that the declaration of the allies to the effect that they are fighting for a peace in which human freedom and democracy will be guaranteed will remain an empty statement as long as Great Britain will continue to exploit India and Africa, and as long as America has not resolved its Negro problem."

Yes, that is precisely the reason why millions of people the world over sympathized with the state of workers and peasants, which had put an end to exploitation and national hostility.

It was precisely the successes of the Red Army which inspired the people's liberation and insurgent armies, the resistance fighters and the guerillas and clandestine workers in many countries. The flames of war embraced 61 countries! The heroism of our armed forces did not bring salvation to European countries alone. The historical destinies of the peoples of the Orient also depended on the situation at the Soviet-German front. The routing of the German fascist forces in the Caucasus prevented the implementation of Hitler's global plan of including among the slave colonies the countries of the Near and Middle East and India....



The storm of national liberation movements brought about the collapse of the colonial system. This was one of the most important results of World War II. As is justly pointed out in "The Caucasian Shield:" "Remember, Hitler says that 'If England were to lose India the entire world would collapse.' England did lose India and its other colonies and the world did not collapse. What collapsed was the colonial system."

The great liberating mission of the Red Army is immortal. it is the topic of two films under the single title "In Liberating Europe..."

The collapse of occupation and pro-German regimes is depicted in these pictures as a result of the joint actions of the Soviet Armed Forces and the patriotic forces in the liberated countries. The political situation in the European countries at that time varied from country to country and so did the forms of struggle of the patriots (described in great detail), but the essence was the same: the selfless international exploit of the Soviet soldier, of the Red Army.

A number of scenes in the films describe the selflessness of the Soviet soldiers fulfilling their international duty. Particularly impressive in this respect was the East Carpathian operation of our troops in helping the Slovak uprising. This was at a time when the Soviet soldiers had had no respite after the most difficult Lvov-Sandomir operation and when they literally had to make their way through fire and mountains.

No urgent strategic necessity dictated this operation. Its moral-political meaning and outcome, however, are of permanent historical value.

The nobility of this fraternal Red Army exploit becomes particularly clear when compared with the actions of the allies in the liberation of Greece. Strictly speaking, one could not speak of the liberation of the country by the allied forces, for it was brought about by the Greek national liberation army (ELAS). The British troops entered Greek territory after the occupation forces had withdrawn. Churchill himself said this in Parliament. The first manifestation of "allied obligations" was the order that ELAS be disarmed. The second was firing at a peaceful demonstration opposing this act.

Loyalty to the duty as allies, to ally obligations...How important those were during the war and in the course of the postwar organization of the world!

The last films "The Last Volleys of the War" (scenario by I. Mendzheritskiy, directed by V. Kryukov) and "Also in the Pacific!..." describe grandiose and exciting events: The unconditional surrenders of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan, the victory parade and general rejoicing... However, they focus our attention on the processes the development of which have triggered constant concern throughout the world for nearly all postwar decades.

It was precisely that peaceful landmark that marked the beginning of the notorious policy "from a position of strength," "nuclear blackmail" and the new twist of anti-Sovietism in the diplomacy and politics of the United States and the other NATO countries.

The detailed recreation of the Potsdam conference takes us back to the most important decisions of applying political sanctions against the aggressors, the restoration of territorial justice for the victims of aggression and the earmarking of means of democratic development of the postwar world. What great hopes did such decisions give to the peoples who had suffered from the war! And how much bitterness they had to feel when our yesterday's allies in the struggle violated these agreements, one after the other, and when the reborning and reborn world once again found itself on the brink of catastrophe!

According to its title, the film "Strategy of Victory" should have described the conduct of the war. Its main characters, however, like the characters of the Great Patriotic War, are the people, the victorious soldiers. Through the means of art the makers of the serial were able to describe the great commonality of the fates of countries and individual soldiers, by organically combining in the narration scenes of decision-making at Supreme Command Headquarters and by the General Staff with stories of the lives of those who implemented these decisions in the flames of the battlefields, stories of military exploits.

Long remembered will be the characters of tank man Netesin, from Prokhorovka, who fought there and returned to his native village ("The Steel Bridgehead"); of signaler Pilipenko, who strung a wire along the bottom of the Dnepr ("Battle for the Dnepr," scenario by Yu. Vizbor, directed by A. Korvyakov); the heroic people's defense fighters in Kvitka village ("If the Enemy Does not Surrender..."); and the courageous scouts. Let us point out that, as a whole, the serial renders grateful dues to army intelligence and our great Chekists.

As I mentioned, the task of a film such as "Strategy of Victory" is, above all, to depict leadership at war and martial skill. However the nature of strategic decisions and military operations is determined by the people at war and their attitude toward it.

Yes, the arrows on our strategic maps, like the arms of an invisible compass, are always directed by the nature of a just war and the spirit of the fighting people, their objectives and consciousness. That same consciousness of the people's masses frequently mentioned by Lenin, the masses led by the communist party, was the main organizing and inspiring force of our victory.

As I recall "Victory Strategy," I think of the beginning of my notes: the difficulty of the task of depicting the complex categories I mentioned in a publicistic form.

The author of these lines is not a movie critic, for which reason I shall not undertake to analyze the serial from the viewpoint of professional cinematography positions. As a partial and interested viewer, however, I must point out that which impressed me particularly, that which I found memorable.

Many people probably remember the Odessa streetcar rolling though the war the Journalist's monologue on memory (actor M. Gluzskiy) in the film "Stormy Summer," the martyred death of the "Aurora" artillery men and the

unforgettable one-of-a-kind scenes of laying the railroad tracks on the Ladoga in the movie "Roads to Life" (scenario by G. Zubkov, directed by A. Mikhaylovskiy). Also memorable will be the exploit of the scout Kolos, who crossed the Vistula to reach the insurgent population of Warsaw, in the film "In the Main Direction" (scenario by M. Leshchinskiy, directed by I Belyayev), and the thoughts of the Journalist (actor M. Ulyanov) on the hill under which stood the underground floors of the Reichstag, in the film "The Last Volleys of the War." The dedicated toil and exploits of the working people in the rear are convincingly displayed. There is a great deal to remember, to be touched by.

No less important, however, is that there is also a great deal of food for thought here. This is assisted by words, by the expressive words of actors V. Lanov (Soviet documents), Kh. Braun (the German side), K. Vats ( the American side), G. Nikiforov (the British side) and G. Plaksin (the French side). Let us particularly note the acting of A. Goloborodko, who read the comments of the Historian. The actor not only imparts the depth of historical analysis but gives the audience a feeling that the thoughts are originating on the screen.

"Strategy of Victory" is a serial film. Therefore, it must observe the general structural principles governing all serials, which is what it does. Each series bears the mark of the personality of its creators. Preserving both the general and the individual features is no simple matter. This obviously required a great deal of work by G. Shergova, the head of the group (and developer of the material), cycle editors V. Murazova, M. Speranskaya, E. Telpukhovskaya and M. Smolyanitskiy, the heads of the Ekran Creative Association B. Khessin and G. Groshev, and chief military consultants Army General P. Lashchenko, Lt Gen D. Volkogonov and Col Gen B. Utkin.

The view is sometimes expressed that problems of war strategy are of interest to military specialists and historian only, for which reason there is no need to present them to the broad readership and television audiences. However, it would be difficult to understand what is truly happening in a war and fully to realize the full significance of the nationwide exploit and the exploit of individual participants outside the framework of strategic situations and operative decisions. By deliberately misrepresenting the history of World War II, the bourgeois historians are precisely relying on the ignorance of the broad population masses in such matters. That is why films and books which tell the truth of the past war are extremely needed by the people both at home and abroad.

Obviously, it would have been difficult to avoid some errors and inaccuracies in such a large documentary motion picture. The materials it contains will possibly be further expanded and refined, for, unquestionably, such a movie epic will repeatedly return to the screen. Let us, in this connection, express a number of wishes and remarks. Above all, it would be desirable for the authors to depict more fully the entire complexity of the military-political and strategic situation in which major decisions were made.

Occasionally, in the films we have seen and in many books on the war (perhaps with the exception of K. Simonov's "The Last Summer") all strategy and

operative skills are reduced merely to the formulation of operative-strategic ideas and decision making. Unquestionably, this is a very important aspect of strategic leadership. Nevertheless, it is merely the beginning in the preparation of large-scale operations and combat activities. Once a decision has been made, the outcome of the operation and its success are determined at war by the tremendous organizational work of commanders in chief, commanders, staffs and political organs who study the enemy, the training of the troops, replenishment of casualties, bringing up of materiel, and taking a number of other preparatory steps.

This essential part of the military art, however, is poorly depicted in motion pictures, which makes it difficult to understand why the same idea of surrounding and destroying the enemy failed at Moscow or Demyansk, while brilliantly succeeding at Stalingrad and elsewhere.

Generally speaking, strategy is presented as somewhat separated from the other components of the military art (operative skill, tactics) although no strategic success would be possible without operative and tactical successes. In my view, the chronicle of events is occasionally somewhat impartial and illustrative. A significant share of the text could have been read without displaying the fascist bosses on the screen without, naturally, totally abandoning this method. Not all movies in the serial are of equal worth. Thus, the last two, which deal with the victory in the Far East, are somewhat inferior to the others.

As a whole, "Strategy of Victory" is an intelligent as well as emotional and impressive serial motion picture. The television story of the truth of the strategy which led to victory over fascism, the monstrous offspring of imperialism, is also a reminder to our contemporaries that one must struggle against war before it has started.

One more interesting motion picture has been added to the heroic chronicles of the Great Patriotic War waged by the Soviet people. I say "added," bearing in mind both the quantitative and qualitative meanings of this concept. Soviet documentary television has presented a work new in terms of form and approach to the subject and opened new facets in the interpretation of great pages in the history of our people.

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## PROBLEMS OF PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

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[Review by A. Akhtamzyan, dr of historical sciences, and V. Lukin, dr of historical sciences, of the following books: 1. "Vopros Vsekh Voprosov. Borba za Mir i Istoricheskiye Sudby Chelovechestva" [The Question of Questions. The Struggle for Peace and the Historical Destinies of Mankind]. Edited by V. V. Zagladin, I. K. Pantin and T. T. Timofeyev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 272 pp; 2. "Tsentralnaya Problema Mirovoy Politiki. Predotvrashcheniye Yadernoy Voyny" [Main Problem in World Politics. Prevention of Nuclear War]. O. N. Bykov responsible editor. Mysl, Moscow, 1985, 287 pp]

[Text] For 4 decades since the end of World War II mankind has lived in peace. However, the threat of the outbreak of a new global conflagration is intensifying as a result of the race for increasingly destructive weapons, imposed by imperialism. The problem of preventing a world nuclear missile war is constantly in the center of attention of the CPSU, the fraternal parties in the socialist community and the communist and workers parties in various countries. Soviet students of international affairs are systematically studying this problem in close connection with the overall complex of political and socioeconomic aspects of global developments.

"Vopros Vsekh Voprosov," which was recently published by Politizdat, is the work of a group of noted Soviet social scientists and publicists. As emphasized in the introduction, its purpose is "to reveal the origins and nature of the contemporary historical situation related to the appearance of the threat of global nuclear catastrophe and indicate the ways of preventing it" (p 3). This major and important problem is being resolved through the profound and meaningful study of the historically specific forms of confrontation between socialism and capitalism in the international arena under the circumstances of the "nuclear confrontation" and the study of the characteristics of conflicts between social systems today.

The study of the material and military and technical realities of the nuclear century provides ever new proof of the fact that further qualitative changes

have taken place of late in the nature of a possible military conflict and its consequences which would be catastrophic to mankind. Naturally, this requires a new approach to the entire set of problems relative to preventing a world war. The monograph "Tsentralnaya Problema Mirovoy Politiki," written by a group of students of international affairs of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations offers a major scientific summation of said changes, also within the context of the most important political problems of our time.

"The threat of nuclear war hanging over the world," the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenum emphasized, "urges us to reassess the basic meaning of the activities of the entire communist movement. The communists have always fought oppression and exploitation of man by man. Today they are also fighting for the preservation of human civilization and the right of man to life." This basic concept is presented in the book "Vopros Vsekh Voprosov" with the help of numerous examples and in its various aspects. In our view, particularly successful is the consideration of two problems directly related to the contemporary dilemma of "war or peace." This is, first of all, a question of the correlation between national and global security. Secondly, of the correlation between the most vital need of mankind for peace and the insurmountable social realities of the contemporary world related to the liberation struggle of the broad people's masses.

The first of these problems is thoroughly analyzed in the chapter "Logic of the Political Thinking in the Nuclear Epoch" (by G. Kh. Shakhnazarov). Traditionally, the author points out, national security has been considered the opposite of the security of other countries and peoples, primarily neighboring ones. "Individual" or narrow-coalition security was considered natural and attainable, requiring nothing but a force superior to the enemy's. However, the creation of such a force led, in the case of the bourgeois states, to the temptation to "strengthen" national security even further and, hiding behind it, to prepare aggressive actions against neighboring states. It is thus that the sinister "perpetual motion" engine of military conflicts operated virtually without a respite. The author cites estimates made by the Norwegian Academy of Sciences, according to which in a total of 5,500 years (counting back from our own century) there have been no military conflicts for only 292 years. Meanwhile, 14,500 big and small wars have taken 3.6 billion human lives. As we know, it is contemporary imperialism, by the fault of which two world wars have been fought, that has made the greatest "contribution" to the destruction of people.

Despite this depressing result, the sinister mechanism of the "balance of forces," accepted as the base of "political realism," has been considered by many past strategists and theoreticians an effective means of maintaining relations among states. The contemporary strategic situation, however, has destroyed the hopes for achieving any kind of practical results through such policy. As the current Western leaders are finding out, under the conditions of the nuclear age increased military power does not automatically lead to increased political influence. Furthermore, it is becoming clear that increasing the power of nuclear destruction is inversely proportional to



strengthening national security, for it makes the "balance of fear" even more unstable, while the aspiration to disturb it, which the aggressive imperialist circles are trying to do, increasingly dangerous to the planet as a whole and, naturally, to the initiators of such policy. "Under circumstances in which the most effective (and virtually exclusive) factor hindering the unleashing of nuclear war is the threat of a response ( or, simply stated, retaliation), the concept of "individual" national security loses its meaning," the author notes. "The potential participants in the conflict are forced to take into consideration the security of the opposite side as they do their own. This formal interdependence demands the realization and recognition of the fact that collective security alone is possible in the nuclear age" (p 202).

Deservedly, the problem of the correlation between social realities, the class and national liberation struggle waged on a global scale, in particular, and the imperialism of the nuclear age, has been treated more extensively in the book "Vopros Vsekh Voprosov." It is in this connection that the position held by the most reactionary forces of contemporary imperialism, compressed in the notorious statement by A. Haig, former U.S. secretary of state, that "Some things are more important than peace," is analyzed. Such man-hating credo is countered by the truly humanistic approach supported by the communists. The founders of scientific communism theoretically substantiated that time works in our favor, in favor of the forces of progress and the realization of their objective potential (which was subsequently confirmed by many years of practice of social struggle and become an intrinsic part of the communist outlook), the authors emphasize. All of this remains true, with one exceptionally important stipulation: the very concept of "time" has become more complex in the world of the 1980s. "Here as well," the authors point out, "we cannot do without image concepts, such as living and dead time" (p 220). It is only "living time" that can work for progress and life. Therefore, today the main task is to struggle precisely for such a time, so that it may work for us and our descendants. This struggle waged by the forces of progress and socialism is the most important condition and opportunity for ensuring a happy future for mankind.

The political objective of U.S. nuclear policy has never been a secret: exerting power pressure on other countries with a view to establishing world domination. "The growth of military power," the book "Tsentrlnaya Problema Mirovoy Politiki" point out, "not simply extended but crossed the critical line beyond which war assumes essentially different dimensions" (p 8). The United States have become the initiators of uninterrupted advancement of mass destruction weapons, stockpiling them in amounts threatening all mankind. Today (despite all the efforts of American military policy strategists to present the possibility of an admissible "limited" nuclear war) the nuclear threat has assumed a global nature, for it threatens the existence of human civilization and perhaps even life on earth itself.

In the first half of the 1980s, NATO's nuclear arsenal reached more than 40,000 units of nuclear ammunition. The U.S. nuclear strategic forces, including ICBM, ballistic missiles carried by submarines and strategic bombers, exceed 12,000 first strike nuclear charges. The new armament round

contemplated by the U.S. military-industrial complex calls for tremendous material outlays for perfecting and increasing the nuclear missile potential. Expenditures totalling \$1.8 trillion are planned for military purposes over the next 5 years. The program for the growth and "updating" U.S. nuclear armaments calls for the production of another 17,000 nuclear missiles by 1990 (partially to replace "obsolete" ones). The total number of nuclear charges should reach 32,000 units. As the researchers emphasize, the United States is increasing its nuclear missile potential on the basis of aggressive military strategic doctrines based on some kind of "right" to unleash nuclear war. The data cited in the monograph convincingly prove the adventuristic nature of the military political doctrines and strategies of American imperialism.

The authors of "Tsentrlnaya Problema Mirovoy Politiki" comprehensively analyze the process of changed correlation of socioeconomic and military forces of the countries belonging to the opposite global systems, tracing it in its dynamics. In this case, historical retrospect allows an accurate assessment of the distance covered in this most important matter. The military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO became a decisive factor in preserving world stability and turning from confrontation to talks and detente in the 1970s. Ensuring this balance was one of the most important results of international development in recent decades. It demanded of the Soviet people and the peoples of the other members of the socialist community a great deal of efforts and means, and they are fully resolved not to allow its destruction.

All data show that the process of changing the correlation of military strength and attaining a rough parity is irreversible. The aggressive forces of imperialism are not fated to disturb the approximate parity and establish their military-strategic superiority. As to the Soviet Union, it is not aspiring to achieve military superiority over other countries, for an approximate balance suffices for purposes of security. The USSR has suggested that aspirations to military superiority be abandoned and that the balance be preserved on a possibly lower level.

With military-strategic parity the concepts of bellicose imperialist circles in the United States and other NATO countries become totally futureless and unrealistic. An increasing number of realistically thinking Western politicians are coming to the conviction that no one can win an arms race or a nuclear war. Hoping for victory in a nuclear war is dangerous madness.

The question of preventing a nuclear catastrophe has both global political and diplomatic as well as regional aspects. The authors of "Tsentrlnaya Problema Mirovoy Politiki" are fully justified in considering problems related to political detente and reducing military confrontation in Europe as directly related to universal security. The various proposals relative to the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world and their importance in lowering the level of nuclear confrontation should have been considered in greater detail in connection with regional problems (which include security and cooperation not only in Europe but in the Asian-Pacific area as well).

In describing the new stage of the antiwar movement, the authors justifiably emphasize that "In the contemporary world the invasion of the masses into

foreign policy is growing. A tremendous politization of the population is taking place everywhere. Never before have the nations so clearly realized the fatal consequences of nuclear war" (p 269). We would have liked for the authors to provide a more detailed idea of the scale of and motivations for the participation of the various sociopolitical forces in the antinuclear movement. Awareness of the common vital interests of the peoples not only in adjacent countries but even in the most remote corners of the globe is increasingly being affected by the imperatives of the nuclear century.

The monograph offers detailed proof of the consistent Soviet policy of prevention of nuclear and any other war. The Leninist policy of peace, formulated by the very nature of the socialist community, the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community and the constructive problems they are resolving, is also consistent with the vital interests of the majority of the earth's population, for which reason it enjoys the comprehensive support and approval of the broad masses in the various countries throughout the world.

The Soviet Union is countering aggressive imperialist policy with a principled policy of safeguarding and strengthening international peace and preventing a global nuclear-missile war. The factual data included in "Tsentrlnaya Problema Mirovoy Politiki" clearly and convincingly confirm the purposeful practical activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in this problem of greatest importance to mankind. The USSR, which is waging a decisive struggle for the elimination of nuclear weapons, is ready for disarmament in that area any time, should agreement to this effect be reached with the other nuclear powers. As early as 1982 it assumed the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and should the other nuclear powers take a similar step, favorable conditions would be created for the conclusion of an international treaty banning the use of nuclear weapons in general. As a firm opponent of competition in the arms race, the land of the soviets is currently engaged in a sustained struggle to prevent the militarization of outer space and to ensure the use of space for the good of all mankind.

Another major application of the activities of Soviet diplomacy are its efforts to achieve a total ban of nuclear testing. As early as 1955 the Soviet government had suggested to all nuclear powers to assume a similar obligation. It took several years to draft and conclude, in August 1963, a multilateral treaty banning nuclear tests in three media: the atmosphere, outer space and under water. As a result of the persistent efforts of the socialist states a multilateral treaty on nuclear arms nonproliferation was drafted and concluded, with the participation of more than 120 states.

Both then and later the Soviet Union has consistently favored a total cessation of all nuclear testing, including underground, aimed at perfecting nuclear weapons and adding new varieties of such weapons to the nuclear arsenals. In this connection, the new initiative announced by M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on 29 July 1985, was of the greatest importance. He stated that the Soviet Union had unilaterally decided to stop all nuclear explosions from 6 August 1985 to 1 January 1986. This moratorium could be extended should the United States, in turn, abstain from nuclear testing. The USSR points out that a mutual moratorium on

nuclear explosions by the USSR and the United States could set a good example to all nuclear powers and lead to a cessation of the nuclear arms race.

Taking into consideration the crucial relevance of the problems formulated and analyzed in the monographs under review, let us note in conclusion that their authors have accomplished a major useful project which, unquestionably, deserves the serious attention of the readers.

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